

THE ATHENÆUM

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No. 1812.

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Stamped Edition, 4d.

KING'S COLLEGE, London.—The Appointment of PROFESSOR OF MEDICINE and PHYSICK of King's College Hospital being now VACANT, the Committee are ready to receive Applications from Gentlemen desirous of offering themselves as Candidates for the same. For particulars apply to J. W. CUNNINGHAM, Secretary.

QUEEN'S COLLEGE, CORK.
SESSION 1862-63.

MATRICULATION AND SCHOLARSHIP EXAMINATIONS.

On TUESDAY, the 21st of October next, will be held in the College, an Examination for Matriculation; and for Scholarships, on Monday, the 29th. The School for Junior Pupils above eight years of age will RE-OPEN on MONDAY, September 29th.

A few Pupils are received as Boarders within the College Premises.

BEDFORD COLLEGE (for LADIES),
47 and 48, BEDFORD-SQUARE.
The Classes will begin for the Session 1862-3 on MONDAY, October 13th.

The School for Junior Pupils above eight years of age will RE-OPEN on MONDAY, September 29th.

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Prospectuses may be had at the College.

JANE MARTINEAU, Hon. Sec.

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WALTHAMSTOW HOUSE, WALTHAMSTOW, ESSEX, N.E.—Mr. EDWARD STEANE JACKSON, M.A. &c., begs to inform his Friends that he has REMOVED his School to WALTHAMSTOW HOUSE, where he has accommodation for a larger number of Pupils.—Terms forwarded on application.

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WORKS OF ART intended for the forthcoming EXHIBITION should be delivered to the respective Agents of this Society, or in the Queen's Hall, Bold-street, Liverpool, on or before the 9th of August next, *not later*. If sent to the Queen's Hall they should be addressed *Arrived* to Mr. Pickford & Co.

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All letters should be addressed to 24, North John-street, Liverpool.—By order.

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The List CLOSES on the 3rd inst. THE PRIZE DRAWING on the 31st inst.

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LITERATURE

Reminiscences of Capt. Gronow, formerly of the Grenadier Guards, and M.P. for Stafford: being Anecdotes of the Camp, the Court, and the Clubs, at the Close of the Last War with France. Related by Himself. With Illustrations. (Smith, Elder & Co.)

THERE is a pause in all banquets, when the greater speakers are silent and the best storyteller has exhausted his roll, the philosopher "said his say," to the disgust of his opponent, and the recognized scandal-vender has hinted the most delicious things against his most intimate friends. Such a pause is taken advantage of by the more timid, yet not altogether inexperienced, men—men of the world, too, who have encountered their perils and enjoyed their pleasures, bought their modicum of wisdom, and possess tolerably fair memories.

Capt. Gronow belongs to this last class. He has not raised his voice till all the ladies and gentlemen have sunk back in silence into their chairs, and left a room full of ready listeners. Mrs. Delany has pottered and prattled through six volumes of gossip,—Cornelia Knight has prettily imparted her historiettes from Court,—the ghost of Mrs. Piozzi has made itself audible, repeating some of the old conceits of the living time,—and Mrs. St. George Trench has rattled with unpleasant scandal at the character of our hero, Nelson. So Mr. Raikes has occupied us with incidents of the bygone time; Abbot has brought up many a good and bad fellow of his own eventful period; and Lord Auckland has gracefully told the story of his life and its labours. Many others have been their own poets, historians or eulogists; but suddenly there came a lull, and the old stories having been thoroughly digested, a middle-aged gentleman—to put the matter of age as politely as possible—raises his voice from the lower end of the table, with a "By the by, that last story reminds me of a thing or two which once happened to myself."

"Who is he?" is the immediate question of those who, not remembering the gay Captain about town, have not assumed the look and position of smiling listeners. Well, the Captain is the last of the "dandies,"—that is, of the race of tremendously fine fellows, Sir, who, a generation or so ago, never walked abroad till the world "was sufficiently aired for such nob to appear in it." The dandies were, indeed, more than a race—they were an institution and a system; but the system ultimately wore itself out, and there are few even of those who remember the system who recollect much of its principal illustrations.

The young men of our own time hear of Brummell, indeed, as of a man who has not lacked his *vates*, and to such the *beau* is a part of the fashionable history of England. Alvanley, however, is already but a myth; even D'Orsay is paling before the presence of that fastest of gentlemen, the "edax rerum"—Time. Who now cares for Red-herring Beauchamp? Petersham and his incomprehensible coats have passed into oblivion. Bacchus Lascelles, a jolly fellow rather than a dandy perhaps, is remembered over the country of the Bramham Park hounds and the York and Ainsty. But who knows or cares about Kangaroo Cook? Is Pooille Byng a loving reminiscence of London life? Can any one be found solicitous concerning the sayings and doings of Chin Bailey, or anxious as to which side of the Stygian ferry has the advantage of the glittering and auda-

THE ATHENÆUM

cious presence of little Tommy Garth? Of this once famous brotherhood, Capt. Gronow was a member, and is now a survivor. His portrait—a dandy, in a tight coat, with fur collar, trousers shaped away over the instep, and so closely strapped beneath that one might suppose there was some fear, otherwise, of the soles of his boots sticking in the London mud—used to figure in Humphreys's shop in St. James's Street, amid a gallery of men whose counterfeit presentations were all wonderfully true, with a dash of caricature such as gave delight to their intimate acquaintances, and made every man appear as the sublimation of tight-stayed inanity. In this fraternity, the Captain held a modest position; but he has held on and held out longer than many a more Herculean-built dandy. "Sat superstes!" may be his complaisant remark as he glances at himself in his mirror. His old French contemporary, Duke Pasquier, is gone, but the Captain may console himself with a "*salut à moi!*"—and if he has to remember that he was not the greatest of the great leaders of the dandies, he may find balm in Gilead by uttering the old charm—implying that if he was not actually the rose, he had, at least, lived in close proximity to it.

Left thus alone, Capt. Gronow looks through his breakfast-room window, and, in dressing-gown and slippers, talks in an easy, broken, amusing, drawling, stupid, yet not altogether unpleasant way to the loiterers who care to listen to him. He was a "fellow" who, in 1813, went from the Eton play-ground to the passage of the Bidassoa—the schoolboy being converted into a Guardsman. Many other lads accompanied him, in the roll of whose names he has forgotten to place that of William Lane Fox, who, though he never wrote a book, used to pleasantly describe his unutterable surprise, "By George, Sir!" at the distinct difference between the manner of life in Bond Street and on the banks of the Bidassoa. Not one of these officers was, in the slightest degree, trained for military duties. Of the latter they knew nothing, but they had the simple qualification of bravery. In all other respects, the British army was officered, and effectually officered, by the sergeants; but the officers themselves were very much in the sergeants' way.

The Captain was of the army which entered the South of France in 1813, to replace that Bourbon legitimacy which the man-annihilating system of Imperial glory rendered acceptable to the people at large. But the army was an invading one, and not always so acceptable as the change wrought by its means. Here is a scene at St.-Jean de Luz:

"The mayor of the town, thinking to please the great English lord," gave a ball at the Hôtel de Ville: our Commander-in-Chief did not go, but was represented by Waters. I was there, and expected to see some of the young ladies of the country so famed for their beauty; they were, however, far too patriotic to appear, and the only lady present was Lady Waldegrave, then living with her husband at head-quarters. What was one partner among so many? The ball was a dead failure, in spite of the efforts of the mayor, who danced, to our intense amusement, an English hornpipe, which he had learnt in not a very agreeable manner, viz. when a prisoner of war in the hulks at Plymouth."

Capt. Gronow marched to Bordeaux, came thence to England, and in 1814 was again quartered in London, where "Almack's" was the dear delight of the "quality," but so exclusive that "of the three hundred officers of the Foot Guards not more than half-a-dozen were honoured with vouchers of admission to this exclusive temple of the *beau monde*." Into that

temple, in 1815, Lady Jersey introduced a new dance from Paris:—

"I recollect the persons who formed the very first quadrille that was ever danced at Almack's: they were Lady Jersey, Lady Harriett Butler, Lady Susan Ryde, and Miss Montgomery; the men being the Count St. Aldegonde, Mr. Montgomery, Mr. Montague, and Charles Standish. The 'mazy waltz' was also brought to us about this time; but there were comparatively few who at first ventured to whirl round the salons of Almack's; in course of time Lord Palmerston might, however, have been seen describing an infinite number of circles with Madame de Lieven. Baron de Neumann was frequently seen perpetually turning with the Princess Esterhazy; and, in course of time, the waltzing mania, having turned the heads of society generally, descended to their feet, and the waltz was practised in the morning in certain noble mansions in London with unparalleled assiduity."

A subsequent story which the Captain tells corrects the narrative of an important incident in the life of Brummell:—

"Brummell warmly espoused the cause of Mrs. Fitzherbert, and this of course offended the Prince of Wales. I refer to the period when his Royal Highness had abandoned that beautiful woman for another favourite: then a coldness sprang up between the Prince and his *protégé*; and finally, the mirror of fashion was excluded from the royal presence. A curious accident brought Brummell again to the dinner-table of his royal patron: he was asked one night at White's to take a hand at whist, when he won from George Harley Drummond 20,000*l.* This circumstance having been related by the Duke of York to the Prince of Wales, the beau was again invited to Carlton House. At the commencement of the dinner, matters went off smoothly; but Brummell, in his joy at finding himself with his old friend, became excited, and drank too much wine. His Royal Highness—who wanted to pay off Brummell for an insult he had received at Lady Cholmondeley's ball, when the beau, turning towards the Prince, said to Lady Worcester, 'Who is your fat friend?'—had invited him to dinner merely out of a desire for revenge. The Prince therefore pretended to be affronted with Brummell's hilarity, and said to his brother, the Duke of York, who was present, 'I think we had better order Mr. Brummell's carriage before he gets drunk.' Whereupon he rang the bell, and Brummell left the royal presence. This circumstance originated the story about the beau having told the Prince to ring the bell. I received these details from the late General Sir Arthur Upton, who was present at the dinner."

Those were the days of hard drinkers. Lord Eldon, with a digestion applied to his favourite dinner of liver and bacon, with much attendant liquid, and a couple of bottles of port wine after it, was often thick in speech at night, and self-doubtful of judgment in the morning. But there were greater men than Agamemnon, even in Agamemnon's time: the Captain remembers two—"old Welsh friends, who used each of them to dispose of five bottles of wine daily"—in 1815!

Amid all this tripping-it and tippling-it, came the news—as John remarked when his brother Richard had escaped from Durenstein—that "the devil was loose!" Napoleon was at Cannes, then at Paris, lying in the well-airied sheets of the Bourbons, in whose behalf the Guards were once more summoned to the fray. Then young Gronow was hard put to it to get his outfit in a hurry; but the dandy of those days, if he had not money, had resources. He borrowed 200*l.*, took the cash to a gambling-house, won 600*l.* more, and therewith rushed to battle, be-tailored, be-perfumed, be-toiletted, and generally provided for as became a man who lived under the Regency, and was called to hold up a king of

the red-heeled and pigeon-winged dynasty of Versailles.

This work took our warrior through Waterloo to Paris. There, the follies, the ignorance, the conceits, the arrogance, the ruffianism—not of the clever, easy King Louis the Eighteenth, but of the ministers and priests whom he could not control, had rendered a return to the sanguinary but glorious exactions of Bonapartism welcome. Of the English soldiers and officers in Paris, the Captain speaks in high terms; of the Prussians, quite differently: but the latter had to pay a debt of vengeance. In Berlin the French had behaved rather as savages than as soldiers who have no quarrel with citizens. The Prussians remembered these atrocities, and took revenge wherever they found opportunity. Indeed, Blucher would have destroyed the city itself, if he could have had his way; but his hand was stayed by Wellington, as it was about to fire the train that was to blow up the Bridge of Jena. To this first restraining movement on the part of the English general, the Parisians were indebted for their own personal safety and the preservation of their city. They would do well, and act justly, if on this point their memories were more active and grateful.

Notwithstanding this fact—notwithstanding that our officers and generals united to rescue Imperial victims from Bourbon vengeance, the British were as often insulted in Paris as the Prussians, or even as the Russians, whose rank and file, at least, were as uncivilized in their acts as any of the "Turcos" whom the third Napoleon took into Italy to make an end of the wounded. Yet it must be said that these insults were not made on "personal" grounds. They resulted from a natural, yet illogical, feeling on the part of the Bonapartist officer at the sight of an invader by whose means the whole Imperial system had lost its glory and had come to grief. In no case of the many quarrels and duels which followed was an English officer ever the aggressor. In many cases he was now and then too patient; but the patience of the bravest has its limit:—

"Our countrymen in general were very pacific; but the most awkward customer the French ever came across was my fellow-countryman the late gallant Colonel Sir Charles S——, of the Engineers, who was ready for them with anything: sword, pistols, sabre, or fists—he was good at all; and though never seeking a quarrel, he would not put up with the slightest insult. He killed three Frenchmen in Paris, in quarrels forced upon him. I remember, in October, 1815, being asked by a friend to dine at Beauvillier's, in the Rue Richelieu, when Sir Charles S——, who was well known to us, occupied a table at the farther end of the room. About the middle of the dinner we heard a most extraordinary noise, and, on looking up, perceived that it arose from S——'s table; he was engaged in beating the head of a smartly-dressed gentleman with one of the long French loaves so well known to all who have visited France. Upon asking the reason of such rough treatment on the part of our countryman, he said he would serve all Frenchmen in the same manner if they insulted him. The offence, it seems, proceeded from the person who had just been chastised in so summary a manner: he had stared and laughed at S—— in a rude way for having ordered three bottles of wine to be placed upon his table. The upshot of all this was a duel, which took place next day at a place near Vincennes, and in which S—— shot the unfortunate jester. When Sir Charles returned to Valenciennes, where he commanded the Engineers, he found on his arrival a French officer waiting to avenge the death of his relation, who had only been shot ten days before at Vincennes. They accordingly fought, before S—— had time even to shave himself or eat his breakfast; he having only just arrived in his coupé from Paris. The meeting took place in the fosse of the fortress, and the first shot

from S——'s pistol killed the French officer, who had actually travelled in the diligence from Paris for the purpose, as he boasted to his fellow-travellers, of killing an Englishman."

If any one be ever tempted to publish a second edition of Dr. Millingen's History of Duelling, he will find in these pages many a new illustration of that savage folly. In giving these details, the author sometimes gives the names of the parties in full; at others he furnishes only the initials. For what reason he adopts this arbitrary system we cannot conjecture. "Jack B——" is very memorable as mad Jack Bouvierie; and the identity of one gentleman below is not difficult to fix, and though the matter be not a fight, one may exclaim as he alludes to his uncle, as the earlier English soldiers in France were wont to shout: "A Talbot! a Talbot!" —

"The Hon. George T——, who used to arrive from London with a very considerable letter of credit expressly to try his luck at the Salon des Etrangers, at length contrived to lose his last shilling at *rouge et noir*. When he had lost everything he possessed in the world, he got up and exclaimed, in an excited manner, 'If I had Canova's Venus and Adonis from Alton Towers, my uncle's country seat, it should be placed on the *rouge*, for black has won fourteen times running!' The late

Henry Baring was more fortunate at hazard than his countryman, but his love of gambling was the cause of his being excluded from the banking establishment. Col. Sowerby, of the Guards, was one of the most inveterate players in Paris; and, as is frequently the case with a fair player, a considerable loser. But, perhaps, the most incurable gamemaster amongst the English was Lord Thanet, whose income was not less than 50,000*l.* a year, every farthing of which he lost at play. Cuthbert dissipated the whole of his fortune in like manner. In fact, I do not remember any instance where those who spent their time in this den did not lose all they possessed."

Lord Thanet was the "coolest card" of this lot. In his earlier days, soon after he inherited his father's title, in 1786, Sackville Tufton, who, like Lord Stanhope, affected republicanism and a disregard for titles, got into the Tower for certain anti-royal sentiments too loudly expressed. In Paris, when the gaming-tables were closed,—

"he invited those who remained to play at chicken-hazard and *écarté*; the consequence was that, one night, he left off loser of 120,000*l.* When told of his folly and the probability of his having been cheated, he exclaimed, 'Then I consider myself lucky in not having lost twice that sum.'"

Capt. Gronow calls this gambling lord "the late lord," which is a great injustice to the two brothers who succeeded him, and in the last of whom, the eleventh earl, the line of Elfege de Tufton, first raised to the peerage in 1626, died out in 1849. There are some other corrections the author would do well to make in a second edition, particularly as regards the age and character of Romeo Coates, one of the most astounding dandies of his period, the very worst actor, a fool, but a fool of quality,—that is, however witless his head may have been, Romeo had a heart, as the poor of Boulogne long remembered; and he was no more fifty years of age in 1808 than the Captain himself was.

Of a dandy of another sort, whose head was right enough, but more artificial than he cared the public should know, and who disliked women at dinner, "from the fact of their being helped first, and consequently getting all the wings of the chickens,"—of Byron, in fact, here is a characteristic touch:—

"When Byron was at Cambridge, he was introduced to Scrope Davis by their mutual friend, Matthews, who was afterwards drowned in the river Cam. After Matthews's death, Davis became

Byron's particular friend, and was admitted to his rooms at all hours. Upon one occasion he found the poet in bed with his hair *en papillote*, upon which Scrope cried, 'Ha, ha! Byron, I have at last caught you acting the part of the Sleeping Beauty.'—Byron, in a rage, exclaimed, 'No, Scrope; the part of a d—d fool, you should have said.'—'Well, then, anything you please; but you have succeeded admirably in deceiving your friends, for it was my conviction that your hair curled naturally.'—'Yes, naturally, every night,' returned the poet; 'but do not, my dear Scrope, let the cat out of the bag, for I am as vain of my curls as a girl of sixteen.' When in London, Byron used to go to Manton's shooting-gallery, in Davis Street, to try his hand, as he said, at a wafer. Wedderburn Webster was present when the poet, intensely delighted with his own skill, boasted to Joe Manton that he considered himself the best shot in London. 'No, my lord,' replied Manton, 'not the best; but your shooting to-day was respectable'; upon which Byron waxed wroth, and left the shop in a violent passion."

While on the subject of dandies, let us notice that Brummell, who declared that his blacking was made with the best champagne, was envious of the superior polish exhibited by the famous Colonel Kelly, who was indeed a dandy of the dandies:—

"He was a thin, emaciated-looking dandy, but had all the bearing of the gentleman. He was haughty in the extreme, and very fond of dress; his boots were so well varnished that the polish now in use could not surpass Kelly's blacking in brilliancy; his pantaloons were made of the finest leather, and his coats were imitable: in short, his dress was considered perfect. His sister held the place of housekeeper to the Custom-house, and when it was burnt down Kelly was burnt with it, in endeavouring to save his favourite boots. When the news of his horrible death became known, all the dandies were anxious to secure the services of his valet, who possessed the mystery of the imitable blacking. Brummell lost no time in discovering his place of residence, and asked what wages he required; the servant answered, his late master gave him 150*l.* a year, but it was not enough for his talents, and he should require 200*l.*; upon which Brummell said, 'Well, if you will make it guineas, I shall be happy to attend upon you.' The late Lord Plymouth eventually secured this phoenix of valets at 200*l.* a year, and bore away the sovereignty of boots."

To this period, too, belongs Mr. Bradshaw, the M.P. for Canterbury, who "fell in love" with Maria Tree, and who hearing that the songstress had taken a place in the Birmingham mail, booked the rest for himself, in the name of Tomkins, and resolved to make the most of the opportunity afforded him. Unfortunately, his luggage and the songstress went by one mail, while he, through a mistake, travelled by another:—

"On arriving at Birmingham, early in the morning, he left the coach and stepped into the hotel, determined to remain there, and go to the theatre on the following evening. He went to bed, and slept late the following day; and on waking he remembered that his trunk with all his money had gone on to Manchester, and that he was without the means of paying his way. Seeing the Bank of Birmingham opposite the hotel, he went over and explained his position to one of the partners, giving his own banker's address in London, and showing letters addressed to him as Mr. Bradshaw. Upon this he was told that with such credentials he might have a loan; and the banker said he would write the necessary letter and cheque, and send the money over to him at the hotel. Mr. Bradshaw, pleased with this kind attention, sat himself down comfortably to breakfast in the coffee-room. According to promise, the cashier made his appearance at the hotel, and asked the waiter for Mr. Bradshaw. 'No such gentleman here,' was the reply.—'Oh, yes, he came by the London mail.'—'No, sir; no one came but Mr. Tomkins, who was booked as inside passenger to Manchester.' The cashier was

dissatisfied; but the waiter added, 'Sir, you can look through the window of the coffee-room door, and see the gentleman yourself.' On doing so, he beheld the Mr. Tomkins, alias Mr. Bradshaw, and immediately returned to the Bank, telling what he himself had heard and seen. The banker went over to the hotel, had a consultation with the landlord, and it was determined that a watch should be placed upon the suspicious person who had two names and no luggage, and who was booked to Manchester, but had stopped at Birmingham. The landlord summoned boots—a little lame fellow, of most ludicrous appearance,—and pointing to the gentleman in the coffee-room, told him his duty for the day was to follow him wherever he went, and never to lose sight of him; but above all to take care that he did not get away. Boots nodded assent, and immediately mounted guard. Mr. Bradshaw having taken his breakfast and read the papers, looked at his watch, and sallied forth to see something of the goodly town of Birmingham. He was much surprised at observing a little odd-looking man surveying him most attentively, and watching his every movement; stopping whenever he stopped, and evidently taking a deep interest in all he did. At last, observing that he was the object of this incessant *espionnage*, and finding that he had a shilling left in his pocket, he hailed one of the coaches that ran short distances in those days when omnibuses were not. This, however, did not suit little boots, who went up to him and insisted that he must not leave the town. Mr. Bradshaw's indignation was naturally excessive, and he immediately returned to the hotel, where he found a constable ready to take him before the mayor as an impostor and swindler. He was compelled to appear before his worship, and had the mortification of being told that unless he could give some explanation, he must be content with a night's lodging in a house of detention. Mr. Bradshaw had no alternative but to send to the fair charmer of his heart to identify him; which she most readily did, as soon as rehearsal was over. Explanations were then entered into; but he was forced to give the reason of his being in Birmingham, which of course made a due impression on the lady's heart, and led to that happy result of their interviews—a marriage which resulted in the enjoyment of mutual happiness for many years."

How far this story may be "loaded," we cannot say; but there were so many droll as well as sad circumstances connected with this love-passage in the lives of these young people, that this may rank with one of the former. With its narration we close Capt. Gronow's book. The author intimates that he has material for another volume, and that he possesses some family stories, royal and otherwise, which he does not wish to reveal. We hope he will reconsider the matter, and tell the stories, if they be "tellable," not likely to ruffle or offend, and certain to amuse.

How We Got to Pekin: a Narrative of the Campaign in China of 1860. By the Rev. R.J.L. M'Ghee. With Illustrations. (Bentley.)

WHATEVER else this book may be, it is not of a sermonizing nature. The author writes like a man of the world, easily, freely and conversationally, not forgetting his office, but never dilating obtrusively upon topics foreign to his purpose—that of telling how a British expedition got to Pekin, and what the soldiers saw. There is a touch of egotism and a spice of broad hilarity in the narrative, which help to enliven and in no way offend the reader, who will be especially amused by Mr. M'Ghee's pen-and-ink sketches of the officers and gentlemen whom he accompanied to the capital of the Yellow Realm. His earliest enthusiasm was awakened by the Irregular Indian Cavalry regiments; Fane's and Probyn's Horse, that light-armed chivalry of which Saladin might have been proud. He was delighted with their grey tunics, blue and red turbans, large boots,

pistols, carbines, lances and swords; they looked so knightly and seemed to breathe a desert freedom in the saddle. Then, Probyn will be glad to learn that he has "a head of almost classic beauty," and Fane that he "is considered one of the handsomest men in India,"—both, by the way, deserving to be far higher up the ladder than they are. Then, there was Admiral Hope, who comes in for a very good opinion,—so good, in fact, that he is recommended, in this volume, to the chief command of the British Navy, and that impartially, too, for, says Mr. M'Ghee, "it is from no feeling of personal liking that I have come to this conclusion; true, I have been introduced to him, but he makes it a point never even to return the salute of a military officer, and this in so marked a manner that we soon learned never to salute him." Perhaps that was not the most admirable "point" in the world after all. Next, the clergyman begins to see real China, that of the old willow-pattern plate, the quaint little bridges, the pavilion roofs, the big fruit and little men, the park paling and fairy boat, and the performing dolphin birds whose wings are so picturesquely balanced. But Mr. M'Ghee was as fond of campaigning as of travel, and dashed into the mud with no less spirit than the chaplain of the Shannon dashed on board the Chesapeake. And there were enjoyable bits of incident during that dirty landing:—

"We presented a rather ludicrous appearance that evening as we halted on firm ground. One officer with a knife scraping the tenacious mud from his feet and legs before he put on his stockings and boots; another, less wise, trying the effect of a fine cambric pocket-handkerchief; while a third found a small pool of water as large as a slop-basin, and enjoyed a 'glorious wash.' One brigadier, a most energetic officer, had taken the precaution to remove not only his boots but his 'what-shall-I-call-them,' and enjoying the advantage of a very short shirt and a jacket, it was not a sight one saw every day; when thus in 'undress' he ordered the men to 'come to attention and shoulder,' and marched at their head as boldly as if he had been attired with the most scrupulous care."

Nor was it less inspiring to watch the Indian troopers in their profound contempt for the Tartar battalions grinding day and night at their tulwars and lances, trying the edges of the blades with a joyous smile, glancing amorously at them, and putting the sharpened sword before returning it to the scabbard. Now comes a glimpse of actual war, in which these said tulwars and lances were faithful to their duty:—

"Probyn and Fane, as well as the King's Dragoon Guards, whose horses had all suffered severely in their struggles through the mud, were drawing nearer and nearer to the enemy, saving their horses for the final charge. Fane was one of the first to catch them, and quick as thought his spear flashed through one Tartar as he fled, and more anon. Probyn had a most exciting race along a causeway after one fellow; they were well matched in point of speed, and the Tartar kept on the near side of the causeway, so that Probyn could not get at him; at last he lifted his horse alongside and made his thrust, but the lance only went through the Tartar's clothes, he dodged it so cleverly, and Probyn could not catch him again. Anderson, of the Irregulars, got surrounded by a large body of the enemy's cavalry, and but that he defended himself with the greatest courage and coolness, ably seconded by the half-dozen sowars who were with him, must have been victimized. Probyn came to his relief, and dispersed his assailants. No troops could have behaved better than our cavalry; and it is only to be regretted that their horses were not more fresh, as they could then have done much more execution. The Tartars showed great steadiness, and when our infantry formed the invariable square, came on boldly, believing, as we afterwards learned, that our men had surrendered, and that the front-rank

men, who were kneeling, were actually performing 'kowtow' in token of submission. They soon discovered their mistake by the noise of the volley which followed."

—An unlucky mistake that for the "Lord of all lands and seas." The Tartars, to say truth, obtained little mercy in battle, though after a victory their wounded were generously treated. They were people of offensive aspect and manners, and "stank," as a Chinaman, with a dry sense of humour, remarked at Pehtang to the English officers, "worse than you do yourselves." Among the booty collected after that hand-to-hand encounter were sundry documents in which the English were described as still "intractable," and in which a reward is promised for the body, alive or dead, of Lord Elgin.

Soldiers, generally, whatever they write, do not dwell on the effect of fire and sword on a battle-field. Chaplains occasionally do, and Mr. M'Ghee is vividly minute. It is interesting, though painful, to read once more of the fearful wonders worked in China by the Armstrong artillery:—

"Inside the work was a scene which no pen can describe; fifteen corpses lay stretched in every variety of ghastly attitude round one gun, at the angle next the river; the men had clearly been working the gun by threes, and by threes had that fearful Armstrong shell sent them to their account; it was indeed an awful sight; limbs blown away, bodies literally burst asunder, one black and livid mass of blood and wounds; I wonder how men could have been got to serve a gun as long as they did under such a fire. Nor was this a solitary instance, the same scene was repeated at every gun."

It may readily be conceived that, after this exhibition, the Chinese treated their cannon-ading visitors with respect; as witness the following:—

"A few days after the capture of the forts a commission was sent round to ascertain the number of the guns taken, and to divide them with our allies. It was a business which occupied more than one day, and the officers were obliged to sleep on some straw in a joss-house, and get provisions as they could. They had sent out by a native overnight to get any sort of the country produce that could be had, and these provisions were to be brought in next morning. So, as they lay in the straw very much tumbled, very unwashed, and looking anything on earth but their best, about six o'clock a Chinaman thrusts his head into the room through a trap-door, and calls out in a most respectful tone in his native tongue, 'Arise, O great kings, fish and fowl have arrived.' When they were made aware of the Chinaman's address, the effect was irresistible. Feeling anything but *royal*, very dirty, and very mean, they could not but laugh at the idea of such mighty monarchs lying unwashed and uncombed on a couch of straw."

Once more Probyn's Horse; there is a Tartar army in front of them:—

"We opened fire upon them with our six-pounders, and no doubt astonished them not a little, as we could see by the dust that they were on the move; and after a few rounds, Probyn's Horse, who had, man and steed, been standing chafing and champing on the bit with impatience, were let go at them, and anything more brilliant or chivalrous I am at a loss to conceive. I saw it, and were I to witness another battle, I should say let me see such a sight once more. To be counted by tens, they sped like a thunderbolt against thousands of the enemy, and irresistible was the shock; they went through and through them like a cannon-shot through a deal board, charged back again, through them again, and then wheeling right and left, pursued."

As the expedition advanced, numbers of women and girls destroyed themselves. One flung herself into the dry bed of a river and, after once shuddering, died; others took opium; a mother tried to strangle her daughter. We pass second ghastly sketch of Armstrong shot wounds, and find the Chaplain on a visit to

the Summer Palace, which is well and amply described. Those Tartar ruffians have ideas of luxury very unlike the traditions of the nomadic hordes. Here we have a room and a garden:—

"The ceiling was of wood, deeply carved, very rich and massive; and there was an air of state, a solemn dignity, about the place which impressed you not a little, and rendered it most suitable to the purpose for which it had been built. Behind this hall was a passage leading to the right and left, one side of being formed by the wall of the Hall of Audience, the other by a large rockery. Following the path to the right you found yourself in a labyrinth of courtyards and buildings, full of all sorts of curiosities, silks, and stores of every kind of property; while proceeding to the left, and turning again to the front, you arrived at an artificial piece of water, one of hundreds in the grounds, and nearly all connected by a slow-flowing stream, surrounded by rockeries and bridged at each end, where it narrowed. I need hardly say that all around noble trees of various sorts cast their luxuriant shade; and on the opposite side of this miniature lake stood the imperial apartments, entered by none save members of the imperial family. If you can imagine fairies to be the size of ordinary mortals, this then was fairyland. Never have I beheld a scene which realized one's ideas of an enchanted land before."

And the whole interior was agreeably rich, delicate and fantastic:—

"You enter through a passage, and one or two doors, one of the state-rooms, furnished in the richest manner with tables and seats of black or very dark wood—ebony, or a wood of equal beauty,—carved in the most elaborate manner, so that figures and landscapes are made to stand out completely, and are often only attached to the background by some one or two points, which you do not see until you look for them. No more perfect display of the art of wood-carving could be conceived. Wainscots of the same adorned the walls, while the seats and couches were draped with the richest silk-embroidery, all of the imperial yellow, and adorned with dragons in gold."

And so forth, through a mile of palace and several miles of garden. What would a miser say to this?—

"What is this?" said S——; "gold, is it not?" taking up with some difficulty a deity about two feet high.—"Gold, my dear fellow, do you think gold is so plentiful in China that they have golden gods in a remote temple like this, where anyone might carry them off?"—"It's precious heavy, then," he said, "if it is not gold; let us smash him and see; and down went the divinity, with a heavy thud on the marble floor, but no sign of a smash in him."—"I'm sure it is gold," said S——. "Bring it home then," said I, laughing. "I wish I had that lazy syc here," was his rejoinder, as he stood looking at his idol, "I should make him carry it." So we left it there, but when the burning came it was found, or another like it, and was brought home, and it made a fortune. I feel sure that multitudes of such things were thrown away and burnt, because it was incredible that they could be made of gold, and yet they were. On another shrine the incense-burners were of iron, plated with gold; on another, of rich enamel of every colour in the rainbow, with gilded mounting, while every shrine was draped and curtained with yellow satin, richly embroidered."

When the Allies were near Pekin, three different suggestions were offered to the Emperor: to stay at the capital and defend it; to depart on a hunting excursion; and to lead his troops against the foreigners. The state papers quoted by Mr. M'Ghee bear on this subject, and are very remarkable. They show that the Emperor quitted Pekin against the advice of his ministers; that those ministers remonstrated with extreme courage, freedom and ability; and that the number of persons privileged in China to lay their advice at the foot of the throne is very considerable. Sankolinsins advised the hunting excursion, so that he might deal with the White Devils and "exter-

minate the vile brood from off the earth." The Civil Boards resisted this counsel. The President of the Civil Office, with his colleagues, urged—

"Beyond the Hoopee-kow Pass (in the Great Wall) is the haunt of Russian barbarians, and these have been constantly pretending to deliver communications to the Government at Pekin, and these are suddenly collected in hundreds and thousands, and attack traders and officials, respecting whom, however, all reports have been suppressed by the local Mandarins."

This was plain speaking. He was plainer still before he concluded:—

"Your Majesty is well familiar with the maxim, that the Prince is bound to sacrifice himself for his country."

The next memorial was still more unreserved and emphatic:—

"If then, giving ear to base gossip and on the impulse of the moment, the empire of the world is to be thrown away like a weed, the duty to the spirits of the saints in the other world will have been left undone, and no response will have been made to the aspirations of governing or governed throughout the universe."

There is no reserve whatever in this:—

"In what light does your Majesty regard your people? in what light the shrines of your ancestors, or the altars of the tutelary gods? Will you cast away the inheritance of your ancestors like a damaged shoe? What would history say of your Majesty for a thousand years to come? It has never been known that a sovereign should choose a time of danger and distress to make a hunting tour, supposing that thereby he would prevent trouble."

Or in this:—

"Does our Emperor then think nothing of his people, of the temples of his ancestors, and of the altars of the tutelary gods? If he really means to command in person, why does he speak of proceeding to the northward to take up a post with a strong force? Such language will not meet with any faith on the part of the people."

There is a limit, obviously, to the autocracy of the Chinese Emperor. He might have strangled these advisers, no doubt; but they must have felt that they carried an influence and a prerogative with them before addressing such language to the throne.

Mr. M'Ghee's narrative is entertaining; and he has made more out of his adventures and observations than a less garrulous traveller might have done.

The Letters and the Life of Francis Bacon, including all his Occasional Works; namely, Letters, Speeches, Tracts, State Papers, Memorials, Devices, and all authentic Writings not already printed among his Philosophical, Literary or Professional Works. Newly Collected and set forth in Chronological Order, with a Commentary, Biographical and Historical, by James Spedding. Vols. I. and II. (Longman & Co.)

THOUGH we have already devoted ten notices, filling sixty-five columns of the *Athenæum*, to this Collected Edition of Lord Bacon's works, we feel no hesitation in returning to it once again. The interest in Bacon and his writings is one of the fashions that will not speedily pass away. Every year the number of his readers grows, the circle of his fame expands. Nor, on the other side, need we apologize to the editor or publishers for a short delay in noticing the eighth and ninth volumes of their series. The trifles of the day must be reviewed on the day, while books which from their gravity and value belong to the season, and have an interest beyond the season, are often postponed with-

out injustice in favour of the more immediate wants of their less robust brethren. With the weaker class of books, to wait is to perish; but a standard edition of the works of Lord Bacon is a book which should belong to the century in which it appears.

In these volumes Mr. Spedding's plans have been changed. The change may have been made for good and sufficient reasons, though it is apt to mislead a careless buyer and cause some injustice to a careful editor. The first advertisements of this collected edition of Lord Bacon's works announced its issue under three heads:—(1) The Philosophical Works; (2) The Literary and Professional Works; and (3) The Occasional Works. Up to the publication of the eighth and ninth volumes, the promise of this advertisement had been kept. The five volumes of Philosophical Works were finished by September, 1858; the two volumes of Literary and Professional Works, by December, 1859. At this later date the third part, to consist of the Occasional Works, was again announced. Why this plan has been abandoned we are not told. It would appear from several notes in these two volumes (and particularly from note 1, page 148 of vol. ix.), that they were then written, and that no considerable change, except in the title, has since been made in them. The alteration from 'Occasional Works' into 'Letters and Life' seems to have been made somewhat dubiously, and at the very last moment; for a second title-page, describing the volumes as the eighth and ninth of 'The Works of Francis Bacon' has been inserted at the end of each volume. Confusion would have been saved to the purchaser, and justice would have been secured to the writer, by a firm adherence to the original scheme.

But under any name and style that pleases Mr. Spedding's publishers, we are glad to have these volumes from his hands. This is an age of vindication, and the best defence of Francis Bacon against his calumniators lies in the true and faithful statements in his own works. This, too, is an age of annotated editions, and among reproductions of our best writers we know of none superior, on the whole, to Mr. Spedding's 'Bacon.' That we differ from Mr. Spedding on two or three minor points, is no reason why we should withhold any part of the praise due to his signal service. To be just, that praise must be liberal, taking notice of many qualities and attainments, zeal, energy, devotion, reading, judgment and acumen, each possessed by Mr. Spedding in high degree. Such qualities are in combination extremely rare, and in Mr. Spedding's case we recognize noble qualities put out to noble uses.

It is not too much to say that up to this year, the 'Occasional Works' of Francis Bacon, —those letters, speeches, charges, tractates, disquisitions, advices and apologies in which the personal character of the man is most revealed, —have been inedited. Some of these pieces have remained in MS., some have been ascribed to other writers. Pieces have been printed in his 'Works' which he never saw. Even his genuine compositions have been huddled together with no care. Writings which required explanation for the general reader have been left to tell their own tale. Nearly all the letters have been given without dates. No attempt has ever been made to group them in the order of time, so as to make them illustrate the events of their writer's life. Mallet and Montagu had, in truth, no sense of the duties of an editor. They merely shot the pieces together, on Carlyle's lazy principle of the load of coals.

For the first time we have these 'Occasional Works' dealt with in a spirit of order, reverence

and criticism, the first Francis' *Athenæum*, Gray's speech, The man given in off by J. Mr. Spedding's desire so vigorous they find common that present Now, the distinguished from a those girls so early must lose his boy taught she was full of a destined in believing the whole not but a temple the child with an effaced. him; but service the son of her sense of the was present of the young fear and heard, the time depended loyalty —the in which substance of the but to a person been as nation n bred in time for his field and his con playground prospects till at least lect of a original part he hoped however and he was that tow neither to be lo

and criticism. We begin, chronologically, with the first letter known to have been written by Francis Bacon, that recently published in the *Athenæum*, for the first time, and dated from Gray's Inn; proceed through the series of his personal writings, up to the close of his speeches and publication on the Essex treason. The mass of these extant writings are now given in the order in which they were thrown off by Bacon, and with a vast body of illustrations and commentary.

The spirit in which Mr. Spedding treats his subject may be judged from the general view presented, by way of preface. Our extract is rather long, but it has the advantage of being complete in itself, and the merit of expressing the whole truth of Bacon's life, as imagined by Mr. Spedding:—

"When the temperament is quick and sensitive, the desire of knowledge strong, and the faculties so vigorous, obedient and equably developed that they find almost all things easy, the mind will commonly fasten upon the first object of interest that presents itself with the ardour of a first love. Now, these qualities, which so eminently distinguished Bacon as a man, must have been in him from a boy; and if we would know the source of those great impulses which began to work in him so early and continued to govern him so long, we must look for it among the circumstances by which his boyhood was surrounded. What his mother taught him we do not know; but we know that she was a learned, eloquent and religious woman, full of affection and puritanic fervour, deeply interested in the condition of the Church, and perfectly believing that the cause of the Nonconformists was the whole cause of Christ. Such a mother could not but endeavour to lead her child's mind into the temple where her own treasure was laid up, and the child's mind, so led, could not but follow thither with awful curiosity and impressions not to be effaced. Neither do we know what his father taught him; but he appears to have designed him for the service of the State: and we need not doubt that the son of Elizabeth's Lord Keeper, and nephew of her principal Secretary, early imbibed a reverence for the mysteries of statesmanship, and a deep sense of the dignity, responsibility and importance of the statesman's calling. It is probable that he was present more than once, when old enough to observe and understand such matters, at the opening of Parliament, and heard his father, standing at the Queen's side, declare to the assembled Lords and Commons the causes of their meeting. It is certain that he was more than once in the immediate presence of the Queen herself, smiled on by the countenance which was looked up to by all the young and all the old around him with love and fear and reverence. Everything that he saw and heard,—the alarms, the hopes, the triumphs of the time—the magnitude of the interests which depended upon her government—the high flow of loyalty which buoyed her up and bore her forward—the imposing character of her council, a character which still stands out distinctly eminent at the distance of nearly three centuries,—must have contributed to excite in the boy's heart a devotion for her person and her cause. So situated, it must have been as difficult for a young and susceptible imagination not to aspire after civil dignities as for a boy bred in camps not to long to be a soldier. But the time for these was not yet come. For the present his field of ambition was still in the school-room and library; where perhaps from the delicacy of his constitution he was more at home than in the playground. His career there was victorious; new prospects of boundless extent opening on every side; till at length, just above the age at which an intellect of quick growth begins to be conscious of original power, he was sent to the University, where he hoped to learn all that men knew. By the time, however, that he had gone through the usual course, and heard what the various professors had to say, he was conscious of a disappointment. It seemed that towards the end of the sixteenth century men neither knew nor aspired to know more than was to be learned from Aristotle: a strange thing at

any time—more strange than ever just then, when the heavens themselves seemed to be taking up the argument on their own behalf, and by suddenly lighting up within the very region of the Unchangeable and Incorruptible, and presently extinguishing, a new fixed star as bright as Jupiter—(the new star in Cassiopeia shone with full lustre on Bacon's freshmankind)—to be protesting by signs and wonders against the cardinal doctrine of the Aristotelian philosophy. It was then that a thought struck him, the date of which deserves to be recorded, not for anything extraordinary in the thought itself, which had probably occurred to others before him, but for its influence upon his after-life. If our study of nature be thus barren, he thought, our method of study must be wrong: might not a better method be found? The suggestion was simple and obvious. The singularity was in the way he took hold of it. With most men such a thought would have come and gone in a passing regret; a few might have matured it into a wish—some into a vague project—one or two might perhaps have followed it out so far as to attain a distinct conception of the better method, and hazard a distinct indication of the direction in which it lay. But in him the gift of seeing in prophetic vision what might be and ought to be was united with the practical talent of devising means and handling minute details. He could at once imagine like a poet and execute like a clerk of the works. Upon the conviction This may be done, followed at once the question *How* may it be done? Upon that question answered, followed the resolution to try and do it. Of the degrees by which the suggestion ripened into a project, the project into an undertaking, and the undertaking unfolded itself into distinct proportions and the full grandeur of its total dimensions, I can say nothing. But that the thought first occurred to him during his residence at Cambridge, therefore before he had completed his fifteenth year, we know upon the best authority—his own statement to Dr. Rawley. I believe it ought to be regarded as the most important event of his life—the event which had a greater influence than any other upon his character and future course. From that moment there was awakened within his breast the appetite which cannot be satiated, and the passion which cannot commit excess. From that moment he had a vocation which employed and stimulated all the energies of his mind, gave a value to every vacant interval of time, an interest and significance to every random thought and casual accession of knowledge—an object to live for as wide as humanity, as immortal as the human race—an idea to live in vast and lofty enough to fill the soul for ever with religious and heroic aspirations. From that moment, though still subject to interruptions, disappointments, errors and regrets, he could never be without either work or hope or consolation. So much with regard to the condition of his mind at this period we may, I think, reasonably assume, without trespassing upon the province of the novelist. Such a mind as we know from after experience that Bacon possessed, could not have grown up among such circumstances without receiving impressions and impulses of this kind. He could not have been bred under such a mother without imbibing some portion of her zeal in the cause of the reformed religion; he could not have been educated in the house of such a father, surrounded by such a court, in the middle of such agitations, without feeling loyal aspirations for the cause of his Queen and country; he could not have entertained the idea that the fortunes of the human race might by a better application of human industry be redeemed and put into a course of continual improvement, without conceiving an eager desire to see the process begun. Assuming, then, that a deep interest in these three great causes—the cause of reformed religion, of his native country, of the human race through all their generations—was thus early implanted in that vigorous and virgin soil, we must leave it to struggle up as it may, according to the accidents of time and weather. Many a bad season it will meet with; many a noble promise will be broken.

Sepius illum
Expectata seges vanis cludit artis.

It is the universal error of hope and youth to overlook impediments and embrace more than can be accomplished, and to the latter years of all great undertakings is left the melancholy task of selecting from among many cherished purposes those which with least injury to the whole design may be abandoned. But though in the history of society an abandoned purpose may rightly go for nothing, it is not so in the history of a man. A man's intentions, so long as they deserve the name of intentions, mix with his views, affect his actions, and are so much a part of himself that unless we take them into the account we can never understand the real conditions of the problem which his life presents to him for solution. Of Bacon's life at any rate I am persuaded that no man will ever form a correct idea, unless he bear in mind that from very early youth his heart was divided between these three objects, distinct but not discordant; and that though the last and in our eyes the greatest was his favourite and his own, the other two never lost their hold upon his affections. Not until he felt his years huddling and hurrying to their close did he consent to abandon the hope of doing something for them all; nor indeed is it easy to find any period of his life in which some fortunate turn of affairs might not have enabled him to fulfil it."

The new matter in these two volumes is not of much importance. A few letters and scraps comprise the additions. Mr. Spedding had no choice but to give them, though they add nothing to our knowledge. Some of the reclamations are of more importance. The most serious, perhaps, is that of the much-admired 'Letters of Advice from the Earl of Essex to the Earl of Rutland on his Travels.' These bright and noble productions have been printed again and again, as of Lord Essex's composition. Indeed, on these letters rests his chief claim to the character of a fine writer. They sparkle with beauty. The wit is so keen, the wisdom so true, the sentiment so noble, the diction so pure, that the most opposite judges of style have pronounced them master-work of English composition. Take from Essex this credit, and what is left? It may be truly said, that the fame of these 'Letters of Advice' has done more to keep the memory of Essex sweet than all the romantic nonsense ever written about him by lady historians. Mr. Spedding gives reason for his belief that all the wit, wisdom, sentiment and style of these celebrated compositions belong, not to the Earl, but to Bacon, and he reprints them in this collected edition of Bacon's Works. It is one of the hardest blows which the fame of Essex has yet received.

The two volumes of 'Occasional Works' now issued may be described as an inquiry, conducted at very great length, into the facts of Bacon's connexion with Lord Essex; a history ending with the conclusion, by way of verdict from the bench, that "no fault can be found with any part of Bacon's conduct towards Essex." In the verdict thus announced we heartily concur, though not on every point for the reason given by Mr. Spedding. Indeed, in order that we may receive his conclusions at all, we are very often compelled to set his statements and his arguments aside. From Mr. Spedding's premises we should not easily work to his conclusions. Take an example; not a small and immaterial point, but one which is the key to his defence,—the history of Essex's conspiracy. Bacon's defence rests on the character of the Earl's crime. If Essex had been no more than a petulant young fellow, whose high spirits were goaded by the abuse of personal exercises into an outbreak apparently dangerous to the public peace, into a sudden crime—which had no previous existence as a plot in his own mind and in the minds of others, and would have had no ulterior consequences, even if successful, on the action of the Queen and State,—it might

have been necessary to condemn and punish him for his crime. It would not have been necessary to take his life. It would not have been necessary to brand his name. It would not have been necessary for every honest man to abandon, to oppose and to crush him. Yet such a petulant young man Mr. Spedding imagines Essex to have been. On the theory that Essex was such a man his book was years ago written; and when a later day brought facts to light which made this theory untenable, Mr. Spedding was unable either to dispute the new facts or to let his ancient theory go.

It is now established beyond reach of cavil—and it is the cardinal fact in explaining everybody's conduct, from that of the Queen herself to that of Nottingham, Raleigh and Bacon—that when Essex started for the North of Ireland to seek Tyrone, his treason was already accomplished in his mind. The evidence of this pre-meditated crime is unimpeachable in kind, overwhelming in force:—it exists in the examinations of Father Wright and in the depositions of Sir Christopher Blount. Wright's examinations are in the Record Office, Blount's depositions at Hatfield Chace. The papers are official, are very carefully dated, and bear the signatures of the witnesses. If any fact in history is established, it is that Essex's plot was formed, his design to invade England and make war on the Queen communicated to his companions, before he met Tyrone on the Lagan. Yet the whole of Mr. Spedding's exposition of facts proceeds on the contrary theory. Mr. Spedding imagines that when Essex started for the North, he may have been a loyal subject and an honest man. "He proposed to begin with an attack on Tyrone, in Ulster," says Mr. Spedding, who assumes all through that Essex meant "to put down the rebellion." The fact is, that in framing his theory of these events, Mr. Spedding has taken for actual truth that generous 'Declaration of the Treason of Robert Earl of Essex,' in which Bacon had lifted from the Earl's memory the heaviest load of guilt. Bacon nowhere in that paper betrays the most damning facts; nowhere gives the date of Essex's treasonable communication to Blount and Southampton; and the words in which he describes that communication would suggest, though they by no means imply, that it was made *after* his return from the North. That this was the popular inference at the time, every one knows. That this inference saved the Earl's memory from some part of the obloquy due to his crimes, is doubtful. On this inference, Mr. Spedding based his explanations of events. That it is false he is now aware, though he has only learnt it when too late to admit of his putting his text into harmony with his knowledge. In a page at the end of his ninth volume he says:—

"The only considerable correction which Bacon's narrative requires tends to confirm the substantial truth of the rest, and to relieve it from the charge of putting a construction upon Essex's conduct worse than the facts seemed necessarily to involve. I allude to the time at which the Earl is said to have communicated to Blount and Southampton his project of returning to England at the head of his army and so bringing the Government to conditions. It happens singularly enough that until the discovery of the Hatfield copy of Sir Christopher Blount's examination, bearing his own signature, for which we are indebted to Mr. Bruce, none of the reports either of his confession or of Southampton's gave the exact date of that communication, either directly or by implication. Bacon, it seems, supposed that it took place *after* the parley with Tyrone, and that the parley itself was a preparative towards it. I was myself rather disposed to connect it with the receipt of the Queen's letter of the 17th of September, and to

take it for a sudden plunge out of a hopeless embarrassment. It now appears, if there be no error in the signed examination (and Mr. Bruce assures me, upon a second reference, that the words of the MS. are clear), that the project was not only meditated but announced 'some few days before the Earl's journey into the North': some few days therefore before the end of August; at which time not one of his requisitions had been refused, nor one of his plans of action interfered with. He had been forbidden, it is true, to leave his post without licence; but he had received from England all the reinforcements he had asked for; he had obtained authority not a month before to raise an additional force of 2,000 men in Ireland; and he not only still retained all the unusually large powers with which he had been sent out, but was at that very time expected, encouraged, and extremely wished by the Government to make himself as strong as possible for the coming encounter with Tyrone. That he should have meditated such a use of these forces at *such a time*, is a fact which certainly tells formidably in favour of the darkest view of the spirit and purposes with which he undertook the service; and the error (if it be an error) as to the date of the communication I can only account for by supposing that Bacon took his information from Coke's rough memorandum of Blount's confession, and was not in possession of the fuller copy of the examination. It is easily conceivable that among so many papers one may have been mislaid or overlooked, and the existence of another copy which contained all that was most material in it (this date excepted) may have prevented the oversight from being detected. As the case stands, however, it seems that this correction must be made: for we have no evidence, with equal pretensions to authority, which is inconsistent with it; and it is difficult to conceive an oversight in such a matter. In Bacon's narrative the correction may be introduced without disturbing the rest of the story. My own I have been obliged to leave as it was: *for the fact is incompatible with the theory I had formed of the Earl's proceedings, and could not be incorporated into my account of them without more extensive alterations than the state of the press permitted.*"

Who will not sympathize with Mr. Spedding? Of course, if the book could be written again, it would be very much improved by the better lights now found. The false theory about Essex causes a great deal of utterly useless explanation. Yet, taking this book with all its faults and merits on its head, and remembering that if men are mortal, books are imperfect, let us cheerfully admit that the merits far outweigh the defects.

A Natural History of New and Rare Ferns.
By E. J. Lowe. With Coloured Illustrations.
(Groombridge & Sons.)

We have as profound a respect for scientific pteridologists as we have for other men of science, and we do not know that their nomenclature is more uncouth or more unmeaning than that of other naturalists who deal in bad Latin and base Greek. But we feel a little pardonable vexation when we open a beautifully illustrated volume, like the one before us, and find nothing by way of letter-press description besides page after page of this nauseously repeated nomenclature. Here, for instance, is a plate of that elegant fern, *Hymenophyllum pulcherrimum*. Having contemplated the well-drawn frond, we peruse the adjoining page of letter-press, eager to learn something of this beautiful production of nature. And what do we learn? Little more than that its fronds are "smooth, tri-quadrangular, ovate-lanceolate in form," or "Involucres sessile, auxiliary, small orbicular, free, two-valved," &c. Now this may be pleasing to botanists, profitable to authors and nurserymen, but how it can inform or amuse the great public, how it can advance

the study of ferns amongst the multitude, it is difficult to say.

Have these pteridologists no fancy, no poetry, no gracefulness about them, that they cannot give at least a page or two here and there of readable matter? Do they never walk in green lanes and recline amongst brackens, and hunt out the rarer ferns for themselves? Unhappily they seem to content themselves with the languid air of the fern-house or the solitude of the study, awaiting only the postman with his parcel, in which fronds are ingeniously packed between two thin boards. Thus friend sends fern to friend, and in the study nomenclature runs wild, at least as far as it can run wild between the termini of the Greek and the Latin lexicons. Mr. Lowe receives, for example, a very fine golden-coloured fern. It ought to be baptized with the most pure and simple name, a name as bright and attractive as the fine golden branch which it simulates. But upon looking at the sori the pteridologist discerns a cloak-like appearance, and thereupon the golden fern, in itself elegant and simple enough to have imaged the *aurea virga* of Circe, is baptized *Nothochlæna flavens*, that is, literally, *yellow spurious cloak*. Let any plain man take up the fern itself and then pronounce the appointed name, and if he do not laugh outright he has no health in him. Yellow spurious cloak, indeed!—never was a simple child of nature so spurious cloaked before.

Nothing would do these studious fern-baptizers more good than a temporary abandonment of study and lexicon, and a run beyond the range of penny-posts into the wildest haunts of the ferns themselves. There they might acquire a little of the fancy so sadly lacking in them or their books. Will Mr. Lowe descend to leave his fernery and his fortune-favoured habitudes, and, strapping on a knapsack, travel night and day, until he rests with us in a valley of the Pennine Alps where ferns most do congregate? If so, we can point out to him a path which nurserymen tread not, and even artists have not known, a chamois-track which gradually winds up to a wood whose scanty umbrage is most welcome in the torrid heats of summer, and where amongst the rock-surrounded trees rise up here and there ferns the most luxuriant, strange in form, grand in frond, broad in their spreading, and beautiful exceedingly in the contrast they present with the glistening snows towering high above them, defying them to climb higher or to find a lodgment in their leafless slopes, or to fling their feathery fronds over the rifts of endless ice. Sitting down here on sharp stones as best we may, will Mr. Lowe, or other pteridologist, discourse in common language on the genera and species—the sori and anything else of these Alpine adventurers? Surely the scene and the contrasts would inspire even the drier nomenclator with a strain of poetry, and he would enlarge upon the luxuriance of these ferns, their peculiar hardiness in haunting the limits of mountain vegetation, their power to draw life out of the scantiest soil, their appropriate vegetative instinct to seek the rare shade in these localities, and their glorious freedom from all predators with vasculum and plant-book, their liberty to flourish, it may be unnamed, unknown and unlimned by botanist, bookseller or artist!

The success which attends Mr. Lowe's publications is, no doubt, due to the beautiful figures of ferns with which he illustrates them. These deserve all the commendation we can bestow upon them; indeed, considering the price at which they are issued,—and of course price is a test of artistic adaptation,—they are scarcely to be surpassed. If there be no poetry in the let-

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ter-press, there is much in the plates. They, at least, speak plainly, and every one can understand what Nature means to say when her works are faithfully represented. She has a universal language which needs no lexicons, is free from all barbarities, and can be easily understood by the ordinary pedestrian without the aid of periodologists.

English Metrical Homilies, from Manuscripts of the Fourteenth Century. With an Introduction and Notes, by John Small, M.A. (Edinburgh, Paterson.)

It is a curious circumstance that mediæval poetry arose almost entirely from the desire to find an artificial aid to the memory, for which rhyming verse was especially convenient and useful. Hence verse was not only used to commemorate historical facts and legends, and to record family histories and genealogies, but it was employed in handing down from one generation to another sciences and useful arts, rules and regulations of various kinds, and even receipts in medicine and cookery, by presenting them in a form which was easy to remember. Here we have some worthy ecclesiastic of the old time composing his sermons in verse with the same object. The poems contained in the volume before us form part of a series of metrical homilies on those portions of the Gospels which were read at the usual services of the Church, copies of which are preserved in manuscript, chiefly of the fourteenth century, in the libraries of the British Museum, the archiepiscopal palace of Lambeth, the two English Universities, and the Royal College of Physicians at Edinburgh. It is from the latter that Mr. Small has printed his text, with a selection of various readings from some of the others. They profess to be written by a hermit who went barefoot—

Barfoot he wente in gray habyte,
He wered no cloth that was of lyne (linen).—
who took them from a Latin original, and translated them into that dialect which prevailed among our forefathers in the North of England. Hence they possess considerable interest in a philological point of view.

In general, the substance of these metrical homilies differs little from that of the usual run of mediæval sermons which we find scattered through old manuscripts. Doctrines, which are sometimes superstitious enough, and have often more reference to the temporal interests of the Church than to the spiritual interests of the people, are supported and illustrated by stories and anecdotes which are curious as pictures of mediæval manners and sentiments. Thus, in the homily for the second Sunday in Advent, the difficulty of avoiding sins is illustrated by the story of a monk who was much revered by the other monks of his abbey for his holiness, and who, on his death-bed, promised one of his companions with whom he was very intimate that, if it were permitted him, he would appear to him after death and tell him in what condition he was in the other world. Accordingly, in due time, one night as the surviving monk lay awake in his bed, his deceased friend appeared to him, and told him that he had been only saved from hell through his constant devotion to the Virgin Mary. He said that immediately after giving up the ghost, he was carried to judgment, and Christ gave him a book of the rules of St. Benet (the laws of his monastic order), and commanded him to read it. In doing this, he was conscience-struck at the number of small points in the rules which he had transgressed, and he was condemned to the everlasting pains of hell; but the Virgin, because he had served her, interceded for him, and obtained as a boon that he should be trans-

ferred to purgatory, out of which he was to work himself as well as he could. He said that the great means of his ultimate salvation were the prayers of the living, and begged him to get as many people's prayers—that is, contributions of money to the clergy for saying prayers—for him as possible. There was no more lucrative source of emolument to the Church than prayers for the dead.

But the most curious of these illustrative tales in the present volume is told in the homily for the third Sunday after the octave of the Epiphany. There was a knight of very low birth; he had been a serf, but he had bought knighthood with money, and this money he had gained by "okerling," or usurious dealings. He was, in fact, very wealthy. Near him lived a very holy bishop, with whom he was acquainted. The knight became conscience-stricken, and made a full confession to the bishop, who, after some consideration, enjoined him an act of charity as a penance. The bishop told him that when he went away he would meet a beggar in the street, and that his penance should be to give him whatever he should ask. The knight submitted willingly to this injunction, and, on his way home he met the beggar as predicted, who appealed to his charity, and when told to make his own demand, asked only for a quarter of wheat. The knight thought this a very light penance, and taking the beggar home with him, ordered the quarter of wheat to be immediately measured out to him. But here arose a new difficulty: the beggar had neither a sack nor any other thing with which he could carry his wheat away. Under these circumstances the knight yielded to the temptation of his besetting sin. He offered to buy the wheat from the beggar, of course at a good bargain, and the beggar with considerable reluctance, for he said that he did not like to sell God's charity, consented, received five shillings for it, and went his way. The knight, who thought he had done a clever stroke of business, put the wheat into an ark or chest; but when he came to open the chest three days afterwards, he found it full of snakes and adders, great black toads, and other similar vermin; and in his terror he hurried to the bishop and told him all that had happened. The latter saw at once the danger into which the knight's soul had fallen, and asked him if he was ready to make a great sacrifice for its salvation. On his reply in the affirmative, the worthy prelate told him that his only chance of saving his soul was to throw himself naked into the chest among the serpents and other reptiles, and allow himself to be devoured by them. He declared that when the reptiles had completely devoured his flesh, his sins would be entirely forgiven, and his soul escape both hell and purgatory, and go immediately to paradise. The knight went and did as he was told; and when the bishop afterwards visited the chest he found nothing but his bones remaining, but they were as white as snow, and after they had been honourably deposited in a neighbouring nunnery, the sanctity which the knight had gained was proved by the circumstance that his bones worked innumerable miracles. There was no class of people from whom, in the middle ages, society in general suffered more than from the usurers.

We need hardly remark, that this is a book chiefly calculated for the library of the antiquary, and there it will be welcome. It is perhaps to be regretted that the whole collection was not printed, instead of a portion. It appears to us to be very carefully edited, and to possess considerable interest, not only for the mere antiquary, but for the English philologist and for the historian of man's mental progress.

The Slave Power; its Character, Career, and Probable Designs: being an Attempt to Explain the Real Issues involved in the American Contest. By J. E. Cairnes, M.A. (Parker, Son & Bourne.)

The principal purpose of Prof. Cairnes is to show that "no settlement of the American dispute which is not preceded by a thorough humbling of the Slave party should be satisfactory to those who have human interests at heart." To effect this, he sketches the course of forced labour from its first appearance in the plantations, and the public policy of the slaveholding interest from the time when their jealousy was first roused by the hostility of the Free States to their peculiar institution. The views taken and the arguments employed are for the most part familiar to readers of Abolition literature; but in many instances they gain and in only a few cases do they lose power from the author's method of dealing with his subject. In seeking the causes of the different fortunes of slavery in different portions of the American soil, Prof. Cairnes sets aside as untenable the solution that refers the phenomenon to the influence of climate and the character of the Negro race. To the argument that the constitutional indolence of the African necessitates a compulsory direction of his powers, the reader is asked to oppose the results of West Indian liberation, which, now that the baneful influences of protracted servitude on the morality of the oppressed race have been overcome, are represented as being altogether on the side of "the experiment," and as completely disproving the charge of incorrigible sluggishness which has been generally preferred against the free blacks. In support of this position, the writer points triumphantly to Barbadoes, where, during the last fifteen years, the small proprietors, cultivating less than five acres of land, and holding in their ranks a great majority of coloured freedmen, have increased from 1,100 to 3,537. Having thus to his satisfaction disposed of the two most widely accepted explanations of the question, Prof. Cairnes puts forth his own solution of the problem, maintaining that "the successful maintenance of slavery, as a system of industry, requires the following conditions:—first, abundance of fertile soil; and, secondly, a crop the cultivation of which demands combination and organization of labour on an extensive scale, and admits of its concentration." The cultivation of cereal crops requiring neither extensive combination of labour nor a wide diffusion of industrial operations, derives no benefit from the especial advantages of forced labour, whilst it is peculiarly adapted to the qualities of free industry. On the other hand, the production of tobacco, cotton and other crops, requiring for its efficient conduct that labour should be combined and organized on an extensive scale, presents the fields of enterprise on which unskilful and unwilling slaves, impelled by the overseer's whip, can be most profitably employed. Other circumstances, it is admitted, have doubtless contributed to the relinquishment of forced labour in the North, and the prevalence of slavery in the South; but the above-mentioned agricultural conditions are regarded as the grand causes of the most important social distinction of the two American federacies. The view seems to be in accordance with experience, and is strikingly confirmed by the fact that "wherever in the Southern States the external conditions are especially favourable to cereal crops, as in parts of Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri, and along the slopes of the Alleghanies, there slavery has always failed to maintain itself."

Having thus admitted that "under certain

conditions of soil and climate, cultivation by slaves may for a time yield a larger net revenue than cultivation by certain forms of free labour," Prof. Cairnes—employing the arguments which Mr. Olmsted has used—proceeds to show that the time has long since passed when even in the Southern States slavery was other than an economic blunder. The negro slave, clumsy, untaught and incapable of achieving anything but one sort of rudest labour, is represented as a most costly and unprofitable servant, whilst the unscientific system of agriculture on which he is employed is shown to be wasteful in the highest degree. In this portion of his work Prof. Cairnes commits the indiscretion of overstating the case of his teacher, and not unfrequently is betrayed into an exaggeration which a subsequent passage either contradicts or qualifies. For instance, he says, in one place, "It was seen then that slave labour is, from the nature of the case, unskilled labour; and it is evident that this circumstance at once excludes it from the field of manufacturing and mechanical industry." Every intelligent reader of statistical works on America sees at a glance the nature of this over-statement, and is well aware that though the negroes of the Southern States are chiefly occupied with the operations of an unenlightened system of husbandry, they both can be, and are, employed in manufactures. Prof. Cairnes does not need instruction as to the fact, for a few pages later he modifies his astounding statement by saying, "I do not mean to assert that there is no mechanical or manufacturing industry carried on in the Slave States. In some of the principal towns, no doubt, there is, though to a limited extent, and here it is chiefly the result of Northern enterprise." And in another part of his book, after enlarging on the skill and education of the slaves of the ancient world, he observes with greater moderation and justice that modern slaves are little likely to receive a superior training, because, "owing to the vast development in modern times of international trade, modern slaveholders are rendered independent of the skill, and therefore of the intelligence and social improvement, of their slave population." But though modern slaveholders may be fairly described as independent of the skill of their slaves, the hope may be reasonably entertained that the time is not distant when the capitalists of the South will find it is their interest to enter more largely into manufacturing enterprise, and, adopting a more enlightened course towards their black servants, secure for them generally better culture. Far from thinking, with Prof. Cairnes, that slave labour is on a large scale necessarily excluded "from the field of manufacturing and mechanical industry," we regard the labour of a factory as peculiarly adapted to servants who work best and to greatest profit when they are under strict supervision.

In the same way that Prof. Cairnes overstates his case with regard to the unskillfulness of slave labour, he exaggerates the reluctance with which it is given. The slave's only stimulus to exertion is represented to be fear; hope is a sentiment that cannot possibly be appealed to in so degraded a being. Such is the Professor's position; and yet Mr. Olmsted, so frequently mentioned as a high authority in the essay, renders very different testimony. The slave-owner, according to the latter gentleman, is not such a fool as to rely only on the whip for urging his black servants to increased exertion, but stimulates their industry by allowing them to participate in its proceeds. This is only one of numerous points on which Prof. Cairnes disregards the writer he quotes.

The most startling portion of the treatise is

its final chapter of "General Conclusions,"—in which the Professor shadows forth his hopes as to the future of the Disunited States. Whilst the war lasts, since he is sanguine that the North will be speedily and greatly victorious, he is of opinion that it is the duty of European nations to observe a strict neutrality; but if it should happen that victory should decide in favour of the South, the duty of non-intervention will not be by any means so clear:

"What is the duty of European nations towards North America in the present crisis of its history? I answer—to observe a strict neutrality between the contending parties, giving their moral support to that settlement of the question which is most in accordance with the general interest of the world. What ground is there for European interference in the quarrel? In the present aspect of affairs absolutely none—none, that is to say, which would not equally justify interference in every war which ever occurred. I say in the present aspect of affairs, for in a different aspect of affairs I can well imagine that a different course would be justifiable, and might even become a duty. Supposing free society in North America in danger of being overborne by the Slave Power, would not the threatened predominance in the New World of a confederacy resting on slavery as its corner-stone, and proclaiming the propagandism of slavery as its mission, be an occasion for the interference of civilized nations? If there be reason that civilized nations should combine to resist the aggressions of Russia—a country containing the germs of a vigorous and progressive civilization—would there be none for opposing the establishment of a 'barbarous and barbarizing Power'—a Power of whose existence slavery is the final cause? But that contingency is happily not now probable; and in the present position of the American contest there is not even a plausible pretext for intervention."

"I think," observes the Professor, "the actual state of the facts, taken in connexion with the resources of the contending parties, warrants us in going a step further and holding that, in the absence of foreign intervention, the South must in the end succumb to its opponent." And, having pronounced in these intelligible terms his anticipations of the result of the contest, he, a few pages later, modestly declines "pretending to pronounce an opinion on the ability of the North to subdue the South." Still, assuming the North to have proved victorious, Mr. Cairnes ventures to put the question "What next?" Ought the North to attempt a reconstruction of the Union? If such an attempt involved the subjugation of the South and the holding it by force of arms, would the dominant power be morally justified in having recourse to such extreme measures? To this latter question the Professor's answer is prompt and decided. To hold the South in a state of subjugation would simply be to restrict the licence of a few hundred thousand slaveholders bent on extending and consolidating a barbarous tyranny. "Now, these being the ends for which the Southern Confederacy seeks to establish itself, is its subjugation by the North justifiable? I hold that the right is as clear as the right to put down murder or piracy." But though the North would be morally justified in keeping her hold on the South by the same means that Austria employs to sustain her influence in Italy, the Professor wisely counsels her not to attempt such a policy. A standing army employed to awe reluctant citizens into obedience seems to him a dangerous engine for a republican government to handle. "Is it likely that the same men who should be exercising arbitrary authority over the whole of the Southern States would be content, in governing the Northern, to confine themselves within constitutional bounds?" The suggestion is certainly not unreasonable. At such a risk the Professor

would have nothing to do with reconstruction:—

"For these reasons, I cannot think that the North is well advised in its attempt to reconstruct the Union in its original proportions. At the same time I am far from thinking that the time for peace has yet arrived. What, it seems to me, the occasion demands, and what, I think, the moral feeling of Europe should support the North in striving for, is a degree of success which shall compel the South to accept terms of separation, such as the progress of civilization in America and the advancement of human interests throughout the world imperatively require. To determine the exact amount of concession on the part of the South which would satisfy these conditions is no part of my purpose. The attempt would be futile. It will suffice that I indicate as distinctly as I can that settlement of the controversy which would, in my judgment, adequately secure the ends proposed, and which, on the whole, is most to be desired. Any scheme for the re-adjustment of political society in North America ought, it seems to me, to embrace two leading objects:—1st, the greatest practical curtailment of the domain of the Slave Power; and 2nd, the re-absorption into the sphere of free society of as much of the present population of the Slave States as can be re-absorbed without detriment to the interests of freedom. On the assumption which I have made of the ability of the Northern people to subdue the South, these two conditions resolve themselves into one."

As far as we understand Prof. Cairnes, in case his "assumption" should be falsified by events, he would advise European Powers to set aside the principle of non-intervention, and take part in the "black war" on the side of the North. The reflection with which we close his book is, that while important questions are being decided by force of arms, writers of Prof. Cairnes's power would do best to observe thoughtfully and use their pens with caution. Already events have falsified more than one of his prophecies with regard to the course of the war.

Mrs. Beeton's Book of Household Management.
(Beeton.)

A Plain Cookery-Book for the Working Classes.
By Charles Elmé Francatelli. (Bosworth & Harrison.)

Handbook of Domestic Recipes. (Cassell, Petter & Galpin.)

Everybody's Pudding Book. (Bentley.)
Passages in the Life of a Young Housekeeper,
related by Herself. (Hogg & Sons.)

THE average of human felicity may not be much higher now than it has been; the world will most likely deserve its title of a "vale of tears" to the end of time; but one consolation, and that by no means a small one, has become stronger and of more general circulation in the present day—there is the possibility of getting good dinners oftener! Good dinners, excellent dinners, super-excellent dinners, have been cooked and eaten in all ages. "Lord Mayor's Feasts" have never failed. Christmas-time, Easter, and even Michaelmas, have secured good cheer for Christendom. Sunday dinners retain a comfortable superiority over the rest of their brethren; but their very association with plenty of good things suggests the "spare fast" of intermediate seasons, when a household was kept on salted meat for months, the frugal housewife being careful to use first the portions which were "a little touched," and going on with the remainder as it stood in the most urgent need of being cooked. Certainly all that has been much changed for the better. Modern cookery-books deal less with grand dishes for high-company occasions, and more with the common dinners of everyday. Domestic cookery-books have of late boldly encountered the diffi-

culty of dealing with "that poor creature," cold mutton. Set dinner-parties are less thought of than the comfort of the family. The idea has been set forth and cherished that the husband and the children are entitled to as much consideration as occasional guests, and that the table ought to be set out as carefully and neatly every day as on special occasions. There is a self-respect in such a fact that goes deeper than the clean table-cloths and dinner-napkins. One of the latest attainments of civilization is—comfort; it is one of the last applications men venture to make of their money, just as, in religion, the practical part of it lags a long way behind the canons of orthodox metaphysics. Men wore fine clothes whilst they walked on rushes, and the beautiful embroidery and picturesque costume of Vandyke's portraits were worn previous to Cromwell's sanitary direction that the dirt should be shovelled from before the doors of houses every day. People are beginning to make themselves comfortable with such things as they have. From the green-hafted scimitar-shaped knives and two-pronged forks which prevailed among decent people within the memory of man to the appointments of the present day there is a great step, and at no more cost. Silver forks are still for those who can obtain them, and silver spoons continue to be the mystic symbol of good luck; but the substitutes for these precious articles improve every day, and the convenience of the originals is afforded to a wider circle. The one point insisted upon in all works on household management is not a love of show or extravagant expenditure, but the necessity of having everything that depends on personal thought and care done as well as possible. The electro-plate or the nickel silver, or even the commonest species of Britannia metal, is to be kept clean and bright, and put neatly on the table; the table linen has no need to be fine, but freshness is indispensable. The dinner may be of scraps, but those scraps must be made savoury; and certainly the recipes and directions for turning stale crusts into delicate puddings, morsels of cold dry meat into delicious entrées, leave cooks and wives without excuse for "banyan days" or hungry dinners. No one can read modern cookery-books without being struck by the good sense which pervades them as a general rule.

Cookery is not merely "the art of providing dainty bits to fatten out the ribs," as the scornful old proverb has it: it is the art of turning every morsel to the best use; it is the exercise of skill, thought, ingenuity, to make every morsel of food yield the utmost nourishment and pleasure of which it is capable. To do this or to legislate for the doing of it, does not depend on the amount of money spent; the same qualities of character are demanded whether the housekeeping be on a large or a small scale. A woman who is not essentially kind-hearted cannot be a comfortable housekeeper; a woman who has not judgment, firmness, forethought and general good sense cannot manage her house prudently or comfortably, no matter what amount of money she may have at her command; a woman who has not an eye for detecting and remedying disorderliness and carelessness cannot keep her house fresh and pleasant, no matter how much money she may spend on furniture and upholstery. It is not money, but management, that is the great requisite in procuring comfort in household arrangements. Of course nobody asks impossibilities; none but the Jews ever yet succeeded in "making bricks without straw," and even they found it difficult and lamented wearily; but the woman with limited means may make her things as perfect after their kind as

the woman with ample means, only she will be obliged to put more of *herself* into the management; and that element of *personality* has a charm which no appointments made through the best staff of servants can possess—it is a luxury that money cannot buy, and generally hinders. The luxury of completeness must always depend on the individual care and skill of the mistress. That a thing should be perfect after its kind, is all that can be required. Bacon and venison lie at opposite ends of the economical scale; but if the woman whose means allow her to procure bacon only, is careful to have it so dressed and served that it is as good as bacon ought to be, she has attained the only perfection required at her hands; and it is the higher qualities brought to bear on a common action which give to the result a beauty and a value not its own. We are all so much creatures of imagination, that we think more of the signified, than of the actual, fact. When a man sees his table nicely set out, he believes in the goodness of his dinner in a way that would be impossible with the self-same dinner on a soiled table-cloth with a slovenly arrangement.

This is the sum of the wisdom we have distilled from the various books on domestic skill and cookery at the head of our article. They must each have their word in detail. Mrs. Isabella Beeton's 'Book of Household Management' is the most imposing: it aims at being a compendium of household duties in every grade of household life, from the mistress to the maid-of-all-work, comprising not only the details of their work, but general information "concerning the origin, properties and uses of all things connected with home life and comfort." It is illustrated by numerous diagrams exhibiting the various articles of food in their original state, and there are also coloured plates to show how they ought to look when dished and ready for the table. The verdict of a practical cook of great experience may be of more value than that of an outside critic. Her observation on returning the book to her mistress who had lent it to her was—"Ma'am, I consider it an excellent work; it is full of useful information about everything, which is quite delightful, and I should say any one might learn to cook from it who never tried before. I don't hold to all the recipes; I like some of my own ways of dressing things better; but I do say it is a most excellent work."

The 'Plain Cookery-book for the Working Classes' is well intended, and has some excellent recipes in it, and gives many valuable hints that would make it useful for a higher grade of people than those to whom it is addressed; but it has the fatal drawback of being written in too condescending a tone. Its affability is distressing to the modest reader; and M. Francatelli is throughout much astonished at his own humility in addressing people who have to dangle their mutton on a string when it has to be roasted, for want of a "meat-jack." He is also profoundly ignorant of the manners, and customs, and prejudices of the class he addresses. The book is intended for the "working classes." M. Francatelli evidently does not know how those classes live in the manufacturing districts when trade is good. On Saturday nights they have always a hot meat supper: mutton chops with poached eggs upon them; beefsteaks and onions; toasted cheese, with buttered eggs upon it; rum in their tea; gin and beer without any stint on the Sunday. They have always some dainty before moderately prudent persons in a higher rank would think of having it: salmon, lamb, lobsters and asparagus long before they come down to a reasonable price; again, on Monday something good to dinner and savoury to tea; but

from Tuesday till Saturday they have mostly coffee and dry bread, having spent all their money. These men would be more likely to fling the "economical pot-liquor soup," described in recipe No. 3, in their wives' faces than to eat it with thankfulness. The boiled beef, cabbage and dumplings recommended for "a Sunday dinner" would most likely provoke a domestic beating, and the very children would turn up their dirty little noses at "Broth made from Bones for Soup." When these people want broth, they buy a fine piece of choice beef and make their broth better or worse. It may be imagined how the pride of their hearts would revolt from the following introduction to the recipe No. 86:—"Let us suppose, or rather hope, you may sometimes have a leg of pork to cook for your dinner." Of course the way of living amongst working men is frightfully extravagant and comfortless; they would consider that to buy a lemon or a nutmeg would be waste of money, and the using up of scraps meanness. They require teaching from the beginning; a wiser and more cultivated style of cookery must be gradually instilled into them; there is more prejudice to overcome than M. Francatelli or writers of cookery-books in general have the least idea of. Many families in the manufacturing districts, when work is good and the several members of the family in full employment, are in receipt of a larger income than many clergymen, and are richer in mere money than lieutenants in her Majesty's army or even navy. Working people are not poor people, except when trade is bad; generally speaking, their money goes in eating and drinking. Their beer is their great bane; it washes away their money in dribs and drabs. Whilst waiting for the day when the wives of working men will be trained to neat-handed comfortable cookery, M. Francatelli's small book of economical recipes will be found useful by the class above the small tradesmen's wives and the warehousemen and clerks; they will have the sense not to take offence, and to profit by the very savoury hints and recipes.

The 'Handbook of Domestic Recipes' includes cookery, and other valuable and interesting information. It is a very useful book for a shilling; it is of the nature of the work called 'Enquire Within about Everything,' and contains information on every variety of subject, from boiling codfish to gilding picture-frames.

'Everybody's Pudding Book; or, Puddings and Tarts in their Proper Season,' might be the gift of a fairy godmother for the benefit of good children home for the holidays—it is full of dainties—"a perpetual feast of nectar'd sweets," which, however, need great discretion in the using, or "Dr. Camomile," of the nursery tale, would find too much occupation! Every species of pie or pudding, and pudding sauce or condiment, with any claims to consideration, will be found here; and we recommend it to all who feel interested in the subject.

The 'Passages in the Life of a Young Housekeeper, related by Herself,' is not a cookery-book, but it is allied to the matter; the book is genuine and amusing, and young housekeepers will greatly sympathize with many of the difficulties and experiences; there are useful hints how to govern their servants, and the peculiar difficulties which beset timid young wives are here related in a pleasant and spirited manner, with the way in which the young housekeeper in the book encountered them. There is an air of genuineness and simplicity which makes the book seem as though it were a page of real life.

In conclusion, if men do not see the dawn of a domestic millennium in this diffusion of useful domestic knowledge, they will at least

have the satisfaction of having a reason as well as a right to grumble.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

Melchior's Dream; and other Tales. By J. H. G. Edited by Mrs. Alfred Gatty. Illustrated by M. S. G. (Bell & Daldy.)—Led upon the stage by a reasonably proud as well as loving mother, who introduces her blushing child to the public with a few graceful sentences, the daughter of Mrs. Alfred Gatty makes her *début* in literature with five brief stories, each of which gives promise that the writer will make a name for herself. Of the tales, the first and second are the best. *Melchior's Dream* is an exquisite little story, charming by original humour, buoyant spirits and tender pathos. That the young writer has taken Dickens for her master is seen not merely in reproductions of mannerism. *Melchior's* delight on waking from his dream, and finding his brothers and sisters alive and ready to receive his expressions of love, is described in the teacher's happiest style. We should be sorry to turn a young lady's head with praise, but we cannot refrain from giving Miss Gatty warm encouragement to persevere in the conscientious exercise of an art in which she seems calculated to achieve excellence. Even as Mrs. Gatty commends her to our notice with words of motherly anxiety, we would respond with a brief personal admonition. Our advice to the young writer is to be confident, industrious and patient, and, for some years to come,—to study much, to think much, and *write little*.

The Master. By Mrs. Mary Denison. (Boston, U.S., Walker & Co.)—‘The Master’ is an American attempt at an Art-story about music; it is a disjointed, incoherent story, told in gasps and darkened hints. There is not a touch of natural description nor of human nature throughout. The story itself is meagre to tenacity; the characters are ineffectual, though ambitiously attempted. As to the girl-mystery, Lucille, she is like many other emphatic attempts in books, but like nothing out of them. There is an entire absence of reality in this story, and that is the worst sign about it: the author is throughout aiming at reproducing the effect that other stories, which she has admired, have produced on her; hence a stiff straining after something grand and artistic, which, to compare things intellectual (and the author would never forgive us if we were not to count her story “intellectual”) with things material, resembles a coat executed by a third-rate artist, the fashion aimed at and exaggerated, but wrong and uncomfortable from lapel to skirt. No doubt, if the author would, she could write something pleasant about things she has really seen and known,—Music, if she chooses; but then she must write about it with veracity from her own knowledge and express her own feelings, instead of trying to imitate what somebody else has felt and expressed on the subject.

Bentley Critica Sacra. Notes on the Greek and Latin Text of the New Testament, extracted from the Bentley MSS. in Trinity College Library. With the Abbé Rulotta's Collation of the Vatican Codex B, a Specimen of Bentley's Improved Edition, and an Account of his Collations. Edited, with the permission of the Masters and Seniors, by A. A. Ellis, M.A. (Deighton & Co.)—*Catechesis Evangelica; being Questions and Answers, based on the Textus Receptus, for the Use of Theological Students.* Part I.—St. Matthew. By T. L. Montefiore, M.A. (Longman & Co.)—Mr. Ellis has done a service to Biblical criticism by editing and publishing selections from Bentley's Collations and Notes on the New Testament, which have long been known to scholars and consulted by critics. He has thus added valuable materials to those furnished by several recent publications, for the formation of a pure text. It is to be regretted that the great prince of critics and scholars did not carry out his vast project of publishing an edition of the New Testament both in Greek and Latin. From his letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury on the subject, as well as from his printed proposals, it is evident the work would have been, to use his own words, “*ακεμήλιον, ακτήμα ἵσται*, a charter,

a magna charta to the whole Christian Church.” It was to be founded upon a careful collation of the most ancient MSS., and use was to be made of the Syriac, Coptic, Gothic and Æthiopic versions, with the Greek and Latin Fathers of the first five centuries, that the reader might see what was the state of the text in the first ages of the Church. And to inspire the greater confidence, Bentley declared that he considered conjectures and emendations improper in the case of the sacred writings, and that he was determined not to alter a single letter in the text without the authorities quoted in the notes. Whatever changes of any kind he proposed in the text were to be mentioned in the Prolegomena. He found that previous editors—not excepting even Mill, to whose thirty years' labour and sagacity no less than 30,000 various readings are due—had paid no attention to the order of the words, a point evidently of great importance in many cases. It is possible Bentley may have been mistaken on some points, though his conjectures have in several instances been since confirmed by the Vatican MS.; and he may have been too sanguine in expecting to settle the text not only with greater nicety than would be possible in the case of any classic author, but in so satisfactory a manner that of the 30,000 various readings scarcely 200 of any consequence would remain. Yet it is undeniable that the principles he laid down, since acted upon by Lachmann and others, and the partial execution of his great work, opened quite a new era in the history of Biblical criticism.—Mr. Montefiore's ‘Catechesis’ is a work of a different character, and intended for a different class of readers. The questions it contains are such as examiners may be expected to ask, and the answers are taken from Wordsworth, Alford and others. As a help in preparing for examination, the book is not without its value.

Reminiscences, Personal and Bibliographical, of Thomas Hartwell Horne, B.D. With Notes by his Daughter, Sarah Anne Cheyne; and a Short Introduction by the Rev. J. B. M'Caul. (Longman & Co.)—We have here as dry a bit of biography as we recollect. Mr. Hartwell Horne was a good man, and an accomplished biblical scholar; but if material for a life of him exists, it is not gathered here. Portions of it are autobiographical.

Origines Romanae; or, Tales of early Rome: selected from the First Five Books of Livy, by the Rev. E. St. John Parry, M.A. (Longman), is a Latin reading-book constructed on the same plan as the author's Greek reading-book, ‘*Reges et Heroes*’, but not liable, like that, to any objection on the score of dialect. It is at once interesting and improving for those who are sufficiently advanced to read Livy. The notes afford sufficient help, but not too much, and contain useful observations on points of grammar.—*Ancient History of Egypt, Assyria and Babylonia*, by Elizabeth M. Sewell (Longman), is founded upon good authorities and is well put together. As an introduction, it will be found serviceable.—The same may be said of M. T. Matthay's *German Grammar* (Nutt), though we think there are plenty of grammars equally good, or we may rather say, superior.—Mr. J. S. Laurie has prepared *First Steps to Reading: being an Introduction to the Graduated Series of English Reading Books* (Longman).—We have before us works forming part of another series, called “Gordon's School and Home Series.” There are four twopenny numbers of *The Child's Story-Book* (Edinburgh, Gordon; London, Hamilton & Co.), containing the best known fairy tales for children. Then we have four threepenny numbers of Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare* (Edinburgh, Gordon; London, Hamilton & Co.); two fourpenny numbers of Miss Edgeworth's tales, *Lane Jervis* and *To-morrow* (Edinburgh, Gordon; London, Hamilton & Co.); a sixpenny number, *The Robins*, by Mrs. Trimmer (Edinburgh, Gordon; London, Hamilton & Co.); and, lastly, a shilling number, containing *Robinson Crusoe* (Edinburgh, Gordon; London, Hamilton & Co.). We conclude with *The New System of Penmanship: a complete and expeditious Course of Practical Instruction in the Art of Writing, illustrated with six Pages of Examples from engraved Plates*, by J. Gemmill (Edinburgh, Menzies; London, Houlston & Wright).—The prelimi-

nary directions are of little value, and the examples far from good models for imitation.

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

- Ainsworth's *Jack Sheppard*, illust. cheap edit. 8vo. 3/- bds.
Babkin's *Elementary Treatise on Orthographic Projection*, 9/- cl.
Baldwin's *Hebrew Reader*, 12mo. 1/- post free. 1/- cl.
Chamier's *Commercial Dictionary*, cl. 12mo. 1/- swd.
Chandler's *Practical Introduction to Greek Accentuation*, 8vo. 19/-
Coleridge's *Dictionary of the Oldest English Words*, 8vo. 2/- hf. bd.
Cox's *The Future*, 12mo. 1/- cl.
Fenton's *Notes on Roman History*, 12mo. 3/- series 8vo. 1/-
Ditmire's *Young Duke*, new edit. for 1862. 8vo. 1/- cl.
Dillingham's *Gentile and Jew in the Temple*, by Darnell, 12mo. 1/- cl.
Edwards's (W. T.) *Papers of an Under-gardener*, fo. 8vo. 4/- cl.
Elizabeth's *Derry*, new edit. fo. 8vo. 4/- cl.
Elvey's *Practical Guide to the Theory and Practice for Chanting*, 8vo. 7/- cl.
Gough's *Customs of the Holy Land*, *Antiquities*, *Science and Faith*, 10/- cl.
Gough's *Thoughts on Personal Religion*, 2nd edit. fo. 8vo. 6/- cl.
Griffiths's *Index to Wills Proved in Oxford*, fo. 8vo. 3/- cl.
Heatcote's (G. V.) *Seven Sermons*, 12mo. 2/- cl.
Hawkins's *History of England*, 3rd edit. 8vo. 15/- cl.
Intellect and Observation. Vol. II. illus. 12mo. 7/- cl. gift.
John's *British Birds in their Haunts*, illust. fo. 8vo. 12/- cl.
Keanie's *Young Gardener's Educator*, 6/- cl.
Lotus's *Legal Handbook for Publicans*, new edit. 8vo. 1/- swd.
London Journal, The, Vol. 32. 4/- cl.
Lomas's *Principles of Retailing*, cr. 8vo. 4/- cl.
McComb's *Guide to Belfast, the Giant's Causeway, &c.* fo. 8vo. 2/- cl.
McCosh's *Typical Forms & Specimens in Creation*, 2nd edit. 8vo. 12/- cl.
McDermott's *Guide to the International Exhibition*, 4th edit. 1/- cl.
Macfie's *Handbook of Welsh Customs and Superstitions*, 8vo. 12mo. 1/- cl.
Makinson's *Hindoo and Mohammedan Laws*, ed. Wilson, 2 ed. 6/- cl.
Munro's *Fern Vale*, or the Queensland Squatter, 3 vols. 12mo. 3/- cl.
Murphy's *Lectures on Midwifery*, 2nd edit. 8vo. 12/- cl.
Newman's *To Parents and Guardians, and Others*, illust. 12mo. 5/- cl.
O'Connor's *Exposition of the Lord's Supper*, 2nd ed. 8vo. 2/- cl.
Packer's *Guide to the Pyrenees*, fo. 8vo. 6/- cl.
Partridge's *Our English Month*, cr. 8vo. 6/- cl.
Pusey's *Parochial Sermons*, Vol. 2, 4th edit. 8vo. 7/- cl.
Ridge's *Ourselfs, Outwood and Our Physic*, 2nd edit. 12mo. 1/- cl.
Ridley's *Voluntary Work in America*, cr. 8vo. 4/- cl.
Seinte Marherete, in Old English, edit. by Gaskayne, 8vo. 7/- cl.
Shorter's *Book of English Prose*, 12mo. 3/- cl.
Smith's *Freemasons' Hall Addresses*, 12mo. 1/- cl.
Todhunter's *Algebra for Colleges and Schools*, 3rd ed. 8vo. 7/- cl.
Tucker's *Prize Design for Covered Homesteads*, 8vo. 5/- cl.
Weird of the Wentworts, Tale of George 4th's Time, 2 v. cr. 8vo. 21/- cl.
Williams's *Female Characters of Holy Scripture*, 2d ed. fo. 8vo. 5/- cl.
Winslow's *Sympathy of Christ with Man*, fo. 8vo. 5/- cl.

[ADVERTISEMENT.]—H.R.H. the PRINCE of WALES'S TOUR in the EAST.—The PHOTOGRAPHIC PICTURES of the many remarkable and interesting places in the Holy Land, Egypt, &c., made by Mr. Francis Bedford during the tour in which, by command, he accompanied His Royal Highness, will, by special permission, graciously accorded, be exhibited, on and after Wednesday, July 23, at the German Gallery, 168, New Bond Street, daily, from Ten to Six o'clock.—Admission, 1s.

THE FIJI ISLANDS.

PROBABLY few of our readers are aware that Her Majesty's Government have recently been engaged in rejecting a colony. Indeed, so little public interest has this event excited that it was not even mentioned in the late debates on the Colonial Estimates; and though our unremunerative West Indian Islands and the annexation of Lagos enabled Parliamentary economists to dwell a few nights ago on the cost of distant dependencies and to protest against the birth of a new one, not a word was said about this unusual deviation from our old policy.

Early in 1859, Mr. Pritchard, who had been for many years British Consul in the Fiji Islands, arrived in London with a document which purported to be a deed of cession from the King of these Islands to Her Majesty. In laying this document before Lord Malmsbury, Mr. Pritchard did not fail to give the best account he could of the proposed colony. He dwelt on the political importance of Fiji arising from its geographical position. Situated on the highway of commerce between Australia and Panama, its capacious and secure harbours, in the possession of an enemy, would afford shelter to an imposing fleet, and a basis for offensive operations against our commerce in the Southern seas and on the coast of Australia. Its commercial advantages depend on its latent resources, its salubrious climate and fertile soil. In compliance with instructions from Lord Clarendon, in 1857, Mr. Pritchard had made personal observations in search of information respecting the production of cotton, and he found that as a cotton-producing country Fiji would be of the utmost value to Great Britain. The largest island in the group is about 360 miles in circumference, containing some 8,000,000 acres of rich land, and several large rivers varying from 50 to 200 feet in width, and navigable by small vessels. One of these rivers was followed in its windings through a fertile country by the boats of the United States Exploring Expedition for a distance of 80 miles. The island next in size to this is some 300 miles in circumference, having also its large rivers and good

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harbours. Nine months after planting, the cotton-tree shows its first pod, and then continues to yield without intermission for 10, 12 or 15 years, as the plant may live. At the same time, and on the same tree, is seen the blossom, the green pod and the ripe cotton. An important consideration in connexion with the cultivation of cotton in these islands is the fact that there would be no scarcity of labour, for the 200,000 natives, estimated as the population of Fiji, would afford a large supply. Nature contributes every requisite to make its cultivation easy and its growth rapid. But notwithstanding all these advantages, Mr. Pritchard maintained that it was only in the security of British protection that cotton could be cultivated in Fiji.

The Foreign Office having received the deed of cession from "Ebenezer Thakombau, by the Grace of God Sovereign Chief of Bau and its Dependencies, Vunivalu of the Armies of Fiji and Tui Viti," transferred it to the Colonial Office for the opinion of Sir Edward Lytton. The Colonial Secretary regarded the proposal as one likely to be of material advantage to this country; but he was unwilling to come to any decision about it without ascertaining the views of the Board of Admiralty. The naval authorities lost no time in informing Sir Edward Lytton that, in their judgment, "there are several reasons which would make it desirable to obtain possession of the islands." They were much struck by our entire want of any advanced position in the Pacific Ocean. We have valuable possessions on either side, as at Vancouver and Sydney, but not an islet or a rock in the 7,000 miles of ocean that separate them. The Panama and Sydney mail communication is likely to be established, yet we have no island on which to place a coaling station and where we could insure fresh supplies: and it may hereafter be found very inconvenient that England should be shut out from any station in these waters, and that an enemy should have possession of Tonga-tabu, where there is a good harbour, within a few hundred miles of the track of our homeward-bound gold ships from Sydney and Melbourne. In one respect the Report of the Admiralty would not be inconsistent with the economical notions of the present day: they remark that neither forts nor batteries would be necessary to hold the ground.

Not satisfied with getting the opinions of the Colonial Office and of the Admiralty, Lord Malmesbury sent some samples of cotton to the Cotton Supply Association of Manchester, and speedily obtained the following resolutions from that active body—"Resolved, That the samples of Fiji cotton which have been submitted by the Foreign Office to the Committee of the Cotton Supply Association for examination are found to be of qualities most desirable for the manufacturers of this country, and the Committee have formed an opinion in all respects favourable to these samples, and believe that such a range of excellent cotton is scarcely now received from any cotton-growing country which supplies this requisite raw material to Great Britain. Resolved, That whilst this Fiji cotton ranges in value from 7*d.* to 1*s.*, the great supply received from the United States does not realize nearly half so high an average value at present."

In April, 1859, Sir Edward Lytton requested the opinion of Lord Malmesbury, whether, supposing other grounds it is found to be desirable to accept the sovereignty of the islands, their occupation by Great Britain may not lead to embarrassment or complication with foreign powers who have rights or claims in that part of the Pacific. Lord Malmesbury replied that he did not think any such embarrassment would follow the annexation, and he sent to the Colonial Office a despatch from Mr. Pritchard as to the mode in which the Fiji Islands might be governed if their cession should be accepted by Her Majesty's Government.

So far everything seemed favourable to the proposed cession. But, in 1860, the Governor of New South Wales threw great doubts upon the expediency of completing the arrangements, and the Government determined to send a special agent to the islands to report on the subject. Col. Smythe was selected for this purpose, and he expressed a

decided opinion against the proposal. His statements, together with other considerations suggested by the native war in which England was menaced in New Zealand, appeared to the Duke of Newcastle to establish conclusively the impolicy of appropriating the islands. The Duke was of opinion "that any civilized power who may make itself responsible for the government of the Fiji Islands must also be willing to incur a large and immediate expenditure, with the possibility before long of finding itself involved in native wars, and, possibly, disputes with other civilized countries. It would also appear very uncertain whether the welfare of the natives would not be better consulted by leaving their civilization to be effected by causes which are already in operation."

Finally, in September, 1861, Lord Russell sent a despatch to the Colonial Office announcing his concurrence with the Duke of Newcastle, that it would be inexpedient to accept the sovereignty of the islands.

The correspondence now laid before Parliament contains the valuable scientific Report of Dr. Bertold Seemann. But as our readers have had an opportunity of perusing Dr. Seemann's communications, sent to the *Athenæum* from the Fiji Islands more than twelve months ago, and as we understand he has a work on the subject now going through the press, we refrain from dealing at present with that which is in truth the most interesting portion of the official papers.

KILIMANJARO AND ITS SNOWS.

Fernando Po, May 23, 1862.

It is cold writing to answer in July a correspondence in your valuable columns dating from February; but—*que faire?* I find myself then in the position of Mr. Pickwick, mercilessly bethumped by the Editors of the '*Eaternwill Gazette*' of Gotha, and the '*Independent*' of the Royal Geographical Society, who, in settling a fierce private feud, discharge all their bravery upon me.

The "Physical Geographer to the Queen"—such, I believe, was the grandiose title which Herr Petermann, probably with the usual Teutonic object (pay and pension), took to himself—asserts with an affront to fact hitherto unshown by "physical geographer," that the Mombas Missionaries travelled to Kilima-njaro "armed with nothing but an umbrella"; that "Capt. Burton, after being unable to perform the journey Mr. Rebmann had performed" (excuse the English, it comes from Gotha) "three times before him, did his best to ridicule the missionaries"; and that "there is nothing more amusing than to peruse these would-be clever comments of Capt. Burton, Mr. Cooley and others, on the Snowy Mountains and other results of the travels and discoveries of the missionaries."

The celebrated "umbrella story," a farcical fiction, has been rightly contradicted by Mr. Cooley. Who does not remember the strong feeling shown by the Royal Geographical Society when informed that the brave, but unfortunate, Dr. Krapf was compelled, after a fray and a flight, to fill his double-barrel with water, and to preserve his life by the nausious draught? Was there a member of our Society so dead to sympathy as to "ridicule" such use of a gun? But if the missionaries travelled only with their "regen-schirms," they also accompanied large parties of natives armed to the teeth, and possibly, like the Guards at Fontenoy, they may have levelled the muskets with their umbrellas.

Secondly, Capt. Burton—allow me to speak of him in the third person—did not fail to reach Kilima-njaro, for the best reason,—he never tried. He was ordered to explore the "Sea Unyamwezi," and to the best of his poor powers he obeyed orders. His trip to Fuga was a mere study, perhaps also an escape from the Hamburg gentry of Zanzibar. At that time the lowlands were being swept by hordes of marauding Wamasai, who speared the Beloch soldiery of His Highness the Sayyid within sight of the ramparts of Mombas. Capt. Burton could not have cut his way through them without a large escort, or rather a little army. This, as he said, would have cost him 5,000*l.*, whilst 1,000*l.* was the total sum allotted to him for explorational

purposes from public funds. He did not know, perhaps happily, at the time, that the Indian Government, among whom he had the misfortune to fall in early life, would allow him and his companion to be the worse by some 1,400*l.* in the affair. Still he had, and has, some satisfaction in reflecting that his "tentative journey" to Fuga was probably the means of saving Mr. and Mrs. Rebmann's lives. Capts. Speke and Burton, hearing that the Wamasai were close upon Mombas, hurried up to the Mission house, some miles distant, and insisted upon the tenants retiring to a place of safety. Mr. Rebmann showed an ambitious disposition for the "Crown of Glory"; but the two Englishmen, who could not object to his "taking the shilling" in the "noble army," informed him that his wife, an Englishwoman, could not be permitted to list. Mr. Rebmann listened to reason. A few days afterwards a command of the Wamasai swept over the Shimba hills, massacred the Wanyika population, and, as I have said, spared the Beloch back into their fortress.

From the Wise Man of Gotha, I turn to Mr. Cooley, who for this time only appears in the amiable rôle of my defender,—and, Heaven preserve me from such defenders!

Mr. Cooley, commenting upon a passage in one of my reports (*Journal R. G. S.* xxviii. p. 200), remarks with a curious want of delicacy—"This unquestionably means that they" (*i.e.* native travellers who had, I said, described the much-vexed Ethiopic Olympus soberly and correctly) "denied the existence of snow. But it is evident that Capt. Burton was restrained from close inquiry and freedom of speech on this subject by the influence of the Royal Geographical Society, where with little geography there is much partizanship."

Leaving the Royal Geographical Society, whose shoulders are full broad enough to settle its own quarrel with one whom they have made hostile by their benefits, I refer Mr. Cooley to *Blackwood's Magazine* (March, 1858, page 279), where, after detailing sundry mythical tales touching Kilima-njaro, I conclude with, "Amongst this Herodotian tissue of fact and fable ran one fine thread of truth: *all testified to the intense cold.*" Those who know me can answer for the amount of influence exercised upon my humble powers of opinion or expression by the Royal Geographical Society, or by any other Society yet invented.

In the same letter, Mr. Cooley, who kindly extenuates many of my "mistakes" by ascribing them to the "misinformation and wrong bias" given to me "by way of instructions," further remarks—"One of his (Capt. Burton's) grandest mistakes, finished off by him in his most dashing manner, he owes entirely to Dr. Krapf. He carried from the coast the word, and he brought it back uncorrected and unchanged,—leaving it to be implied, but not venturing to assert (!), that the querulous linguistic whimsies of the missionaries were confirmed in the interior. I do not hesitate to state my conviction that the great empire with the name of Unyamwezi never existed, and that Monomuzi, or Mueie muezi (the only authentic name), is of terrestrial and territorial origin, and has nothing to do with the moon."

Quousque tandem?—Mr. Editor, I spent six months in Unyamwezi. I collected a vocabulary of the Kinyamwezi. I conversed with hundreds of Wanyamwezi natives, all of whom called their country Unyamwezi, their individualities Mnyamwezi (the origin of the corrupted forms which Mr. Cooley, upon most insufficient evidence, calls the only authentic names), and their nation Wanyamwezi. I also learned that Mwezi there means the moon. I thought it possible that Ptolemy and his followers might, after the usual Greek fashion, have heard the name, and translated it by "Mountains of the Moon"; and in writing of the "Land of the Moon," I showed that it was my purpose to produce an intelligible English name for a local habitation which, dubbed Unyamwezi, would only irritate the stomach of a British public. I cannot but be surprised that a geographer like Mr. Cooley should hold on so obstinately to an old and childish blunder which he ought long to have discarded. He applies to the world of Whitehall Place the well-worn words, "*Quām parvā sc̄ientiā regit*

"mundus!" May we not reply to that distinguished microcosm,

Animum rege qui nisi paret
Imperat, hunc frenis hunc tu compes a catena!

To conclude this lengthy communication. At the time of my first trip from Zanzibar eastwards, my knowledge of the country did not permit me to trench so important a question as to Kilima-njaro being topped with snow or with dolomite. I simply reported what came to my ears, inclining rather towards the snow. At the same time, the arguments *contra*—e.g., that a cone 17,000 feet high would be seen from the sea—appeared so strong, that until my hand had touched that snow, a positive assertion was not to be ventured upon. I now believe that Baron Van der Decken and Mr. Thornton have seen the sore subject of dispute. I am ready at any time, when not otherwise wanted, to bring home a sample of it; and you could not confer upon me a higher favour than by inducing Her Majesty's Government to send me to fetch, not a bottle of smoke—as Mr. Cooley would argue—but a bottle of Kilimanjarian snow.

RICHARD F. BURTON.

BIBLE HISTORY AND THE RAWLINSON CANON.

1, Hill Street, Berkeley Square, July 15, 1862.

BEFORE seeing Dr. Hincks's letter of June 28, which was published in the *Athenæum* of July 5, I had prepared a Comparative Table of the four copies of the recently-discovered Assyrian Canon, in so far as these copies refer to the reigns of Tiglath-Pileser, Sargon and Sennacherib; and I had intended to publish this table without further comment or explanation, in order that chronologists might exercise their own ingenuity in reconciling the apparent discrepancies of the several lists, and might also work out at their leisure the synchronisms, for which the lists afforded materials, between Jewish and Assyrian history. Dr. Hincks's letter obliges me to give a somewhat greater extension to this plan. It is impossible for me to avoid noticing, in the first place, the general tone of depreciation of the share I have had personally in Assyrian discovery which pervades his communication. It is equally impossible to overlook the offensive insinuations which he has thrown out against the authorities of the British Museum. Such topics seem to me to be entirely out of place in a chronological controversy, and can only be explained, I would suggest, by the excessive mortification which the Doctor feels at having allowed the now celebrated "Canon" to slip through his fingers, notwithstanding that he examined, as he says, one of the principal fragments in 1854, during his employment at the British Museum as reporter on Assyrian antiquities, and notwithstanding that he recognized at that early period the character, and to a certain extent even appreciated the value, of the mutilated tablet. Now, the personal question between Dr. Hincks and myself can hardly possess any interest for the public, and I shall not therefore follow his steps in obstructing it unnecessarily on their notice. If any one should be curious to learn the particular share which we have respectively had in rendering the Assyrian inscriptions available for Biblical illustration, I would merely refer him to my letter published in the *Athenæum* of August 23, 1851, where he will find a distinct announcement of my discovery of the capture of Samaria, by Sargon, in his 1st year, and of the siege of Jerusalem, by Sennacherib in his 3rd expedition, and where, in fact, all those identifications of name and synchronisms of date which have since led to such important results will be observed to be laid down for the first time with anything like certainty or precision. It is true that the names of Sargon and Sennacherib had been previously guessed at, but there was the least possible proof, either etymological or historical, in favour of the conjecture; and it was only, I maintain, by my reading of the names of Omri and Samaria, of Hezekiah and Jerusalem, of Merodach-Baladan and many others, that the period to which the inscriptions of Nineveh referred was positively established and the field thus laid open to further research. When Dr. Hincks indeed claims to have discovered the notices of Jehu the son of Omri, on the Nimrud Obelisk, in the lat-

ter part of 1851, he should remember that I had published the reading of the name of *Jahua* early in 1850 (*R. A. S. Journ.* Vol. xii. Part 2, p. 447), and the reading of the name of *Humri* in my letter to the *Athenæum* of August 1851 already quoted, and that I had further made the independent discovery of the application of this title of *Jahua* the son of *Humri* to the Biblical Jehu, King of Samaria, as nearly as possible simultaneously with Dr. Hincks's announcement (see *Athenæum*, No. 1274, p. 357).

Having said so much in repudiation of Dr. Hincks's pretensions to exclusive discovery, I now proceed to consider briefly the more important part of his letter, which contains, as I think, some very indifferent criticism and some very erroneous statements in regard to the "Canon."

Firstly, with respect to the actual tablets, it is impossible to determine with any certainty, from the inconsistent allusions in Dr. Hincks's letter, whether the fragment which he examined in 1853, and of which he published a notice in his report to the Trustees of the British Museum, was, or was not, identical with any of the fragments of which I have lately given an account. "A list of the annual Superintendents, with the years of the king's reign to which they belonged," would, it is true, apply sufficiently well to a fragment of the Canon; but I can hardly reconcile this notice with the more extended description of a "Chronological tablet, recording something in connexion with each year of the reign of successive kings;" still less am I able to verify from any possible arrangement, or even derangement, of the fragments, such as they have been ever since I first examined them, the extraordinary calculation, which Mr. Oppert published on Dr. Hincks's authority—for the French savant does not claim, as far as I understand his report to the Minister of Public Instruction, to have ascertained the dates by his own personal inspection of the tablet—that Tiglath-Pileser ascended the throne in the 20th year of his predecessor's reign, and that his own reign extended to 42 years. I am satisfied,—and I am willing to stake my whole reputation on the issue,—that no such chronological data exist on any tablet in the British Museum; and I can only suspect that Dr. Hincks's misapprehension may have arisen from his having examined certain fragments of a copy of the Canon—but which I am quite unable to say—under the erroneous impression that the order of the names was uniformly from left to right, whereas in reality on all the tablets in the British Museum, including of course the copies of the Canon, the collocation of the columns on the reverse is inverted; that is, the series, whether of names or words or phrases, commences at the upper left-hand corner of the obverse, and terminates at the lower left-hand corner of the reverse, the order being on the one side from left to right, and on the other from right to left. Perhaps also Mr. Oppert's introduction of a third Tiglath-Pileser after Esar-Haddon may have been owing to a similar mistake as to the order of collocation, though in that case it must be presumed that he also examined the same fragments as Dr. Hincks, and to equally little purpose.

I will now succinctly state what I know of the fragments of tablets composing the four versions of the Canon, with especial reference to Dr. Hincks's innuendo of unfair dealing against either myself or the authorities of the Museum. No. 1 tablet consists at present of 8 fragments, 4 belonging to the reverse and 4 to the obverse. 3 of the fragments of the reverse were brought home by Mr. Layard in 1851, and these may possibly have been put together and examined by Dr. Hincks in 1853. I found them in one of the Museum presses, when I commenced work in 1856, and added to them a fourth fragment, which I had brought home with me in 1855. The four fragments of the obverse I picked out during the present year from the heaps of crumbling rubbish which form the *débris* of the collection, and fitted them on to the others. They had never been seen before by any students, and were so incrusted with dirt as to be quite illegible till cleaned. No. 2 tablet is a single fragment, containing about 80 names, more or less legible. This I had in my possession for two years at Baghdad, and it is the

tablet which I originally described to the Royal Asiatic Society as containing dynastic lists. I sent it home in charge of Mr. Hodder in 1854, and it may possibly have been examined both by Mr. Oppert and by Dr. Hincks in 1855, as it was then available for public inspection. When I recommended work on No. 1, a few months back, I required this tablet for comparison, as I could not altogether depend on the correctness of my Bagdad copy of the inscription, but it was not to be found. I spent many fruitless days in searching for it, and at length it was discovered by Mr. Cox, assistant in the Antiquity Department of the Museum, buried under a multitude of other fragments that had been heaped upon it in the process of shifting the contents of the various presses. No other fragment of this tablet has ever been discovered. It dates apparently from the reign of Sennacherib, whilst the other copies descend as low as the reign of the son of Esar-Haddon.

Of the previous history of Tablet No. 3 I know nothing. I found it during the present year, broken into a dozen small fragments, on the shelf of one of the presses of my working-room at the Museum; but I have no recollection whatever of having placed it there, nor of having ever seen it before. It is in a very crumbling state, and the writing is executed much less carefully than on the other tablets.

Tablet No. 4 is a mere fragment of fine clay, containing 25 names, which I lighted on this year among the contents of a case that was now opened for the first time, although it had been sent home from Nineveh in 1854. No other fragment of the same tablet has been yet found.

There is one other fragment which appears to belong to No. 1; but I cannot fit it on to my satisfaction, and I am, in fact, still in doubt whether it belongs to the very beginning or the very end of the series.

As I have employed at least 20 days during the present year in the mere mechanical drudgery of turning over crumbling fragments at the Museum, with a view of ascertaining if they belong to historical or chronological tablets, it is not probable that any large or important portion of any of the four copies of the Canon can have escaped my search. Still, as the fragments exceed 100,000 in number, and are for the most part thickly incrusted with dirt, I cannot pretend to have exhausted the collection. Indeed, I rarely come away from a day's exploration without having found something new of interest; and I thus live in hope that the recovery of minute fragments may yet enable me to complete the series of names, and to solve the difficulty of the discrepant lists.

The next point to which I must allude is the charge which Dr. Hincks brings against me, and at which I am naturally somewhat indignant, that I harbour a covert design to subvert the authority of Scripture, or at any rate, that my statements and calculations, "if accepted without qualification by any large portion of the learned world," will have that effect. Now I do not myself for a moment believe that the authenticity of the historical books of the Hebrew Old Testament is in any danger, or can be in any danger, from a collision with the contemporary evidence of other nations; but at the same time, as the alarm, however needlessly, has been sounded, I feel that before I go further into the question I ought distinctly to repudiate anything like an Infidel tendency, and that I ought moreover to endeavour to show how the reformed Assyrian Chronology may be reconciled with the true dates of the Scriptural record. For the authority of the Assyrian Canon, derived as it is from four independent sources, I have, I confess, the highest respect. Indeed, although Dr. Hincks sneers at the application to such a document of the term "contemporary," that description of it does appear to me to be perfectly correct, inasmuch as the succession of the High Priests (or Epnyomes, as Dr. Hincks calls them) was undoubtedly recorded after each king's reign, and the general lists, as we now have them, were mere collections or compilations of such contemporary records. We must also remember that the most abundant materials existed at Nineveh for verifying the lists, in the series of documents, public and private, which were in the hands of everyone,

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each dated with the name of a particular High Priest, or Eponyme. Several hundreds of such dated tablets are at present in the Museum. In Nineveh itself they existed probably in tens of thousands, and each name was thus as familiar to the public as the names of our own kings to an English schoolboy. The more closely, indeed, that I prosecute my research amid the contents of the Nineveh Library, now in the British Museum, the more impressed do I become with the extraordinary extent and accuracy of the historical information current in Assyria towards the close of the monarchy. One of my most recent discoveries has been a portion of a tablet which must have contained, when perfect, a complete compendium of synchronous Babylonian and Assyrian history from the very earliest times, and from which I learn, for the first time, that an independent kingdom existed on the Upper Tigris contemporaneously with the early Chaldean (?) empire of *Purna-puriyas* and his successors to the South. As the names and succession of these very ancient monarchs are shown to have been thus carefully recorded, and as the exact computations of time given in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser I., Sennacherib and Nabonidus, which date from the reign of one king to that of another, and extend over a continuous period of above 1,200 years, also show that the duration of the respective reigns must have been preserved with equal care, it does seem to me the height of hypercriticism to discredit the chronologists of Sennacherib and Esar-Haddon, who merely carried back their researches for 200 or 300 years. Before I proceed, however, to show how the dates of the Canon may be reconciled with Scripture chronology in respect to the era of Jehu, and without resorting to the desperate expedient of intercalating a period of 40 or 50 years during which no High Priests, or Eponymes, were appointed—an explanation for which there is not a shadow of authority either in the Canon or in any record of authentic history,—before proceeding, I say, to demolish this portion of Dr. Hincks's argument, I must say a few words on his equally fantastic theories regarding Eponymes and Octaeterides.

I never pretended that there were any conclusive grounds for supposing the office which gave its name to the Assyrian year to be that of "High Priest." I merely adopted that explanation in deference to the principle of a duality of power,—a division of authority between the temporal and spiritual chiefs,—which has ever prevailed so extensively in the East. The next officer to the king among such a superstitious people as the Assyrians would assuredly be the "High Priest" or "Archimagus"; and it was only natural to suppose that if any name was to be officially used in equality with, or in supersession of, the royal title, it would be that of the spiritual chief. I am quite ready to abandon this notion if any more suitable explanation can be found of the office of *Limu*, from which the Assyrians commonly dated; but in the mean time I cannot accept of the unmeaning title of Eponyme, nor can I admit of the etymology which would make the *Limu* merely the "seer" of the new moon. The Assyrian root, indeed, which Dr. Hincks translates "to see," I have always supposed to correspond with the common Syriac and Chaldee verb *nab*, "to approach"; and if therefore the title of *Limu* is really connected with the terms *almi*, *limiti*, &c., I should prefer the explanation of "one who is near to the king"; precisely as the cherubs have been sometimes conjectured to be so called from being near to God. All this, however, is involved at present in much obscurity, and is hardly worth mere conjectural elucidation.

On the other subject of the Octaeterides, I am still more completely at variance with Dr. Hincks. How or where he may have attempted to prove that the Assyrians used a cycle of eight years, like the octaeterides or double olympiads of the later Greeks, I know not. I am not aware of a single iota of evidence in favour of such a theory. On the contrary, wherever the Calendar tablets are sufficiently perfect to allow the number of years composing the Assyrian cycle to be counted, I have always found that number to be twelve; at any rate, it is childish to pretend that the divisions in

any of the copies of the Canon can refer to Octaeterides, or cycles of 8 years. There positively is not the remotest foundation for such a notion; and it would merely be a waste of time, therefore, to undertake seriously to refute it.

And now, having got through this preliminary matter, which I have been compelled in a manner, by Dr. Hincks's own discourtesy, to inflict on the readers of the *Athenæum*, I take up the only really important part of the question, as at issue between Dr. Hincks and myself; the explanation, namely, of the Canon itself. It is quite true, as Dr. Hincks notices, that there will be a discrepancy of 40 or 50 years between the length of time given in the Canon and Scripture respectively for the interval which separated Jehu and Tiglath-Pileser, if the synchronism of Jehu with Shalmaneser II. (or the Obelisk King) should be positively established; but has it never occurred to Dr. Hincks that both he and I may have been too hasty in assuming this synchronism? I have long suspected—and latterly the suspicion has grown almost into certainty—that the inscriptions on the Nimrud Obelisk are of two different ages; that the Epigraphs, in fact, and the annals do not belong to the same king. It always seemed a most extraordinary circumstance that the country which furnished the tribute depicted on the sculptured bands of the Obelisk, and the subjugation of which evidently formed the leading exploit of the king's career, should not be even alluded to in the annals. It was equally embarrassing to find that the predecessor of Hazael on the throne of Syria, as given on the Obelisk, was not Ben-hadad. The explanations which I now venture to suggest are, 1stly, that the sculptured figures and epigraphs in the Obelisk, where the notice occurs of *Jahua* the son of *Hunni* (Jehu the son of Omri), belong to an earlier king, probably the great-grandfather of Shalmaneser II., who did really reign, according to the Canon, from B.C. 911 to B.C. 891, and who may have left the memorial trophy unfinished; and 2ndly, that Shalmaneser II., finding the Obelisk in this unfinished state, may have inscribed his annals upon the available portions of it towards the close of his reign, or about the year B.C. 828: and I may add, that there is, I think, an artistic difference in the size and shape of the letters, as well as in the arrangement of the writing, which can be recognized by a practised eye, and which is strongly corroborative of this supposed distinction of date. In this view of the case the Hazael of the Obelisk would be the grandson of the Hazael of Scripture, and the alleged discrepancy between the Chronology of the Canon and the Chronology of the Bible would disappear.

It remains that I should notice the second and more serious difficulty which arises from the apparent curtailment in the Canon to 16 years of the interval between the 8th year of Tiglath-Pileser, when that king received tribute from Menahem of Samaria and Uzziah of Judah, and the 1st of Sargon, when Samaria was taken and the tribes were carried into captivity. I have not yet satisfied myself as to the details of the corrections which it may be necessary to make in order to bring this statement into accordance with the Scriptural narrative; but in the mean time I would offer the following suggestions: 1stly. We have been accustomed to assign the taking of tribute from Menahem and Uzziah to the 8th year of Tiglath-Pileser, because the passage in which the names occur is immediately followed by a new paragraph detailing the events of the King's 9th year; but as I observe that in the preceding portions of the annals no separate dates are given, it is allowable, I think, to infer that the events of the first 8 years are grouped in one general description; and if this be so, we are then at liberty to assign the Syrian campaign to a very early period of the king's reign,—to as early a period perhaps as B.C. 743, or the 2nd year after Tiglath-Pileser's accession: by which 6 years at least will be added to the interval now under discussion.

2ndly. It seems highly probable that the 16 years of Jotham, which have hitherto been considered as a distinct reign, are in reality to be included in the reign of his father Uzziah; for after the latter king was stricken with leprosy and compelled to live in

a separate house, it would appear impossible that he could have discharged the active functions of government. 3rdly. The only rectification in this view which would be required of the received Scripture chronology would be, then, the rejection of the presumed interregnum of 9 years between Pekah and Hoshea, for which there is no authority, and the curtailment of the reign of Pekah by about an equal number of years. At any rate, there must be something wrong in the Hebrew numbers connected with this particular period of Scripture history; for according to the received text, Ahaz could have been only 11 years of age at the birth of his son Hezekiah, while the 20th year again of Jotham is spoken of, 2 Kings xv. 30, though in all the other passages his reign is restricted to 16 years; and an interregnum of 9 years requires moreover to be foisted in between Pekah and Hoshea, against the manifest continuity of the Scripture narrative, in order to reconcile the Chronology of Israel with that of Judah. I shall not just now pursue this subject further; but I engage to recur to it, as soon as I have perfected my scheme of proposed chronological reform.

At present it is of more interest, and almost equal importance, to put forward the views that have been forced upon me by a continued study of the Canon as exhibited in the comparative table attached to this letter. It must be evident, in the first place, that Canon No. 1 follows in regard to the lower Assyrian dynasty a different divisional arrangement to that observed in any of the other copies; and further, it seems highly probable that this difference of arrangement indicates a political distinction; for it is especially remarkable that while the title of King is uniformly appended to the name which heads the different compartments of the upper dynasty, in no case is it afterwards used. I have sometimes thought that the author of this copy of the Canon followed the Babylonian arrangement of reigns from the date of era of Nabonassar; and there is certainly a general concordance between the extent of the compartments as given in the later portion of this tablet and the reigns of the Babylonian kings as recorded by Ptolemy, which can hardly be accidental. For instance, the first departure from the true Assyrian type falls upon the year which, according to my scheme, answers to B.C. 747; and although the opening division of the new series, amounting to 18 years, does not exactly represent the 3 first reigns of Ptolemy, which give an aggregate of 21 years, the succeeding divisions of 5 (Hilaeus), 17 (Mardocampus and Arceanus) and 24 (the minor reigns and interregna down to Asadarinus) do exactly fall in with the Ptolemaic distribution. If Dr. Hincks's arrangement should be preferred, which would place the accession of Sargon 3 years before his so-called Eponymy (and I am by no means disposed to quarrel with a mere difference of 3 years, more or less), the coincidence of the Canon No. 1 with Ptolemy's divisions would be in some respects still more complete, though in others it would altogether fail; but the fact is, that the more I study this contemporary chronological document, the less confidence I have in Ptolemy's numbers, except where his dates are verified by reference to eclipses, as in the case of the 1st year of Sargon and Mardocampus, which I still resolutely assign to B.C. 721. It is, however, equally possible, as suggested in my former letter, that the author of Canon No. 1 was a "legitimist," and that he arranged his divisions according to the lives of the princes, unknown to history, who represented the deposed dynasty. I have no predilection in favour of, nor have I any prejudice against, this or that theory. All I desire is the establishment of truth, and in this candid spirit I commit the consideration of Canon No. 1 to professed chronologists, merely calling their attention to the remarkable division in No. 3 immediately preceding the name of "Sargon the king," which determinately fixes, as far as all relative dates are concerned, the first year of that monarch's reign. If neither the Babylonian nor the legitimist theory should be regarded as sufficiently explaining the exceptional arrangement of Canon No. 1, then I can only fall back on the suggestion offered in the foot-note to my last letter,

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THE DIFFERENT COPIES OF THE ASSYRIAN CANON FROM B.C. 755 TO 678.

Year B.C. calculated from the assumed date of B.C. 721 for the 1st of Sargon.	NAME OF THE ANNUAL OFFICER FROM WHOM THE YEAR WAS NAMED.				REMARKS.
	CANON No. 1.	CANON No. 2.	CANON No. 3.	CANON No. 4.	
755	Asshur-zallus (?) , the king	—	Asshur-zallus (?) , the king	Asshur-zallus (?) , king of Assyria	The name heads a column in No. 4, and is therefore, perhaps, independent of a division.
754	Samsi-el	—	Samsi-el	Samsi-el	
753	Merodach-sallim-anni	—	Merodach-sallim-anni	Merodach-sallim-anni	
752	Bil-ribu-el	—	Bil-ribu-el	Bil-ribu-el	
751	Shamas-idallik-kul (?)	—	Shamas-idallik-kul (?)	Shamas-idallik-kul (?)	
750	Yam-bil-ikin	Yam-bil-ikin	Yam-bil-ikin	Yam-bil-ikin	
749	Sin-sallim-anni	Sin-sallim-ani	Sin-sallim-ani	Sin-sallim-anni	
748	Nergal-nazir	Nergal-nazir	Mergal-nazir	Nergal-nazir	
747	Nebo-bil-uzur	Nebo-bil-uzur	Nebo-bil-uzur	Nebo-bil-uzur	
746	Bil-ribu-el	Bil-ribu-el	Bil-ribu-el	Tukulti-pali-thirra, king of Assyria	Observe that Asshur is used in No. 4 for Yam in the other copies of the Canon; but I believe No. 4 to be incorrect.
745	Tukulti-pali-thirra	Tukulti-pali-thirra, the king	—	—	
744	Nebo-danin-anni	Nebo-danin-anni	—	—	
743	Bilu-kas (?)-bil-uzur	Bilu-kas (?)-bil-uzur	—	—	
742	Nebo-karir-anni	Nebo-karir-anni	—	—	
741	Sin-tagil	Sin-tagil	—	—	
740	Yam-bil-ikin	Yam-ikin	—	—	
739	Bil-limmi-anni	Bil-limmi-ani	—	—	
738	Bar-Anunit	Bar-Anunit	—	—	
737	Ashshur-sallim-anni	Ashshur-sallim-anni	—	—	
736	Bil-ribu-el	Bil-ribu-el	—	—	
735	Ashshur-danin-anni	Ashshur-danin-ani	—	—	
734	Nebo-bil-uzur	Nebo-bil-uzur	—	—	
733	Nergal-vapallit	Nergal-vapallit	—	—	
732	Bilu-dar	—	—	—	
731	Napkhar-el	—	—	—	
730	Idur-Asshur	—	—	—	
729	Bilu-kas (?)-bil-uzur	—	—	—	
728	Merodach-bil-uzur	—	—	—	
727	Tizkaru (?)	—	—	—	
726	Ashshur-kalli	—	—	—	
725	Ashshur....(lost)	—	—	—	
724	Bar-Anunit	—	Bar-Anunit	—	
723	Nebo-edis (?)	—	Nebo-edis (?)	—	
722	Ashshur-tirrat (?)-danin	—	Ashshur-tirrat (?)-danin	—	
721	Sarru-gina	—	Sarru-gina, the king	Ziru-ipni	This is the great king Sargon.
720	Ziru-ipni	—	Ziru-ipni Itib-Asshur	Itib-Asshur	The two names of Ziru-ipni and Itib-Asshur are placed in one line in Canon 3, but probably merely to save space.
719	Itib-Asshur	—	Itib-zilli-thirra	Itib-zilli-thirra	
718	Itib-zilli-thirra	—	Taggil-ana-bil	Taggil-ana-bil	
717	Taggil-ana-bil	—	Bilat-idur	Bilat-idur	
716	Bilat-idur	—	—	Ashshur-bani	
715	Ashshur-bani	—	—	Sarru-gina	
714	Sarru-limmi-anni	—	—	Sarru-limmi-anni	
713	Bar-alk-pani	—	—	Bar-alk-pani	
712	Shamas-bil-uzur	—	—	Shamas-bil-uzur	
711	Mannu-itli-Ashshur-liha	—	—	Mannu-itli-Ashshur-liha	
710	Shamas-vapkhar	—	—	Shamas-vapkhar	
709	Sha-Ashshur-igubbu (?)	—	—	Sha-Ashshur-igubbu (?)	
708	Mutaggil-Asshur	—	—	Mutaggil-Asshur	
707	Pakhar-bil	{ Sin-akhi-irba, the king } { Pakharra-bil }	—	Pakhar-bil	Observe that Sennacherib's accession, which is not noticed at all in Canon 1, is placed one year later in Canon 4 than in Canon 2.
706	Nebo-daini-pal	Nebo-daini-pal	—	{ Sin-akhi-irba, king of Assyria }	
705	Kan-zillai (?)	Kan-zillai (?)	—	{ Nebo-daini-pal }	
704	Nebo-bili	Nebo-bili	—	Kan-zillai (?)	
703	Khananu	Khananu	—	—	
702	Mitunu	Mitunu	—	—	
701	Bilu-sar....	Bilu....	—	—	
700	Pani (?)...sar	Pani....	—	—	
699	Ilu-dur-uzur	Ilu....	—	—	
698	Shalmanu-bil (?)	Shalmanu...	—	—	
697	Ashshur-bil-uzur	—	—	—	
696ya	—	—	—	
695	Idin-akhi	—	—	—	
694	Zazal	—	—	—	
693	Bil-limmi-anni	—	—	—	
692	Ashshur-danin-anni	—	—	—	
691	Nebo-alk-uzur	—	—	—	
690	Gi-khilu (?)	—	—	—	
689	Idin-akhi	—	—	—	
688	Sin-akhi-irba	(Canon No. 2 cannot have contained anything later than this period.)	Asshur-akhi-irba, the king	—	This is the date of the Tayler Cylinder.
687	Bil-limmi-anni	—	—	—	
686	Ashshur-danin-anni	—	—	—	
685	Mannu-zir-ili (?)	—	—	—	
684	Mannu-itli-Yam	—	—	—	
683	Nebo-sar-uzur	—	—	—	
682	Nebo-alkh-isis	—	—	—	
681	—	—	—	—	
680	—	—	—	—	
679	—	—	—	—	
678	(No more of this Canon has been as yet recovered.)	—	(After an interval of 24 years, ten more names occur, which close the Canon; but there are no more divisions to be distinguished on the tablet, nor is there any trace of the names of Esar-Haddon or his son Ashshur-bani-pal.)	—	

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that these petty divisions of five years in Canon No. 1 and three years in Canon No. 3, immediately preceding the reign of Sargon, indicate the troubles which followed on the death or deposition of Tiglath-Pileser,—troubles in which Shalmaneser, whether Sargon under another name or a distinct individual, must have played a conspicuous part.

The only point of consequence which remains to be discussed is the length of the reign of Sennacherib. Now it is certainly very remarkable that if we accept the divisional arrangement of Canons No. 1 and No. 2 as sufficient authority for assigning the accession of Sennacherib to the 15th year of his predecessor Sargon, then we shall have an indication that his reign was really restricted to 18 years, as calculated by Dr. Hincks, and as expressly stated by Alexander Polyhistor; and also that another king—whether the brother or son of Sennacherib it is impossible to say—intervened between the latter monarch and Esar-Haddon; for at the 19th year of the compartment in Canon No. 1, which appears to answer to the reign of Sennacherib, and which indeed is proved to do so by the name of the *Lima (Neboliba)* who presided over the 4th year, and from whose Presidency the Bellino Cylinder of Sennacherib is dated—at the 19th year, I say, of this compartment we have a name in Canon No. 1, which is given as that of Sennacherib himself—thus causing me in my former letter to consider it proved that the king had served the office of High Priest in his 19th year,—but which, being given in Canon No. 3 as *Ashur-ak-irba*, with a special division to itself and the adjunct apparently of “king,” I am now inclined to assign to that brother or son of Sennacherib to whom Polyhistor allots a separate reign of 8 years, in apparent agreement with the 8 years of interregnum at Babylon which Ptolemy introduces immediately before the accession of Asaradinus or Esar-Haddon. The real fact is, however, that although there is a general accordance between the native and the Greek accounts of the Assyrian succession, and although there are some few cases of exact coincidence, still the discrepancies which also exist are sufficiently numerous to prevent our placing implicit faith in the integrity either of the Greek numbers or names. I am not even sure that Dr. Hincks’s specious identification of the names of the Belibus and Aparanadisus of the Canon of Ptolemy, and his pretended verification of their respective reigns at Babylon, will bear a minute scrutiny. The name, at any rate, of the officer whom Sennacherib placed in charge of Babylon during his first expedition, as stated on the Bellino Cylinder, I should read as *Bil-ipni* or *Bilubani*, the monogram which forms the second element signifying “to do or make” (Heb. יְבָנֵ), and never having the phonetic power of *ip* unless the syllable *is or us* is added to show that the synonym of *ipis* or *ipus* is used for *ipni*; and again in regard to time, as the Taylor Cylinder dates from the 15th year of Sennacherib, instead of from the 8th or 9th, as heretofore supposed, I should be inclined to place the appointment of Asshur-nadin to the government of Babylon in the 7th or 8th rather than in the 4th year of Sennacherib. It is also important to remember that we have the date of the 22nd year of Sennacherib’s reign upon another tablet in the Museum. It seems to me, however, a mere waste of time to discuss these minute points of Chronology, and to split hairs about 2 or 3 years in advance or in arrear. What is especially required at the present time is that Assyrian scholars should agree upon the true arrangement of the Canon; and it is to this end that I offer the accompanying comparative table to their appreciation. I have adopted No. 1 Canon as the standard text, and have placed in juxtaposition the fragmentary notices of the other versions, so that all the discrepancies, both of name and of arrangement, can be taken in at a glance. I do not pretend to minute accuracy in reading the names; for Chronological purposes, indeed, it would suffice that the names were rendered arbitrarily, so long as they admitted of recognition: and the rectification of Chronology is the immediate object that I have in view. As soon as the Canon is fairly settled, we may then correct by it the numbers of Ptolemy and Polyhistor, and see our way to the

true Scriptural arrangement. At present, I think, the less discursively we treat the Chronological question, the better.

H. C. RAWLINSON.

OUR WEEKLY GOSSIP.

On Saturday last, Mr. Tite, as acting Chairman of the Board of Works, led a party of Lords and Commoners, together with a few invited guests, over the chief outfalls of the Main Drainage system at Abbey Mills, Barking Reach and Deptford. Mr. Bazalgette, the engineer, gave a preliminary explanation in the Tea-Room of the House of Commons as to the progress of the works,—after which a steamer carried down the visitors to Blackwall, whence a train soon shot them into a potato-field, near a cutting of the sewer, where the inspection began. A walk of fifty or sixty yards brought the visitors to the storm drain, a work admirably designed and finished. From the potato-field we pass through the main sewer towards the River Lea, across which the drain will be carried in iron tubes, the storm overflow escaping into the Lea; over several small streams, of which the names were as much unknown to us as that of Russell Square was to the West-End swell, to Barking Reach. Mr. Tite and Mr. Bazalgette made some interesting statements over lunch. On the north of the Thames there are four great sewage systems, three of which converge at the storm overflow on the Lea:—the high-level system commences at Hampstead, and is nine miles in length; the middle-level system, of which 30,000 feet have been completed, begins at Kensal Green, runs along Hyde Park and Oxford Street, and joins the high level at Victoria Park; and the low level starts at Millbank, skirts the Thames as far as the Tower, whence it diverges to West Ham. From West Ham the three great drains are carried, mainly on arches, over the peat to Barking Reach. The fourth system is unconnected with these great works; indeed, it is a compromise with natural difficulties, draining back and discharging into the Thames, near Cromorne Gardens, Chelsea, lying too low for the engineers, will have to consume its own dirt. To the south of the Thames the works are of similar character, and the workmanship of superior kind. The contract of Messrs. Webster has been executed in a manner to compel admiration. More than fifty miles of tunnel have been completed; and Mr. Tite told the Lords and Commoners that the contracts, with the sole exception of the low-level sewer, which depends on the general question of the Thames Embankment, will be finished within the time and the estimates fixed by Parliament.

Mr. T. Butler has executed, for the Council of the Statistical Society, a medallion portrait of Albert the Good, which is now placed in their meeting-room.

The Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland will take place at Worcester, on Tuesday next, July 22, and continue until Tuesday, July 29. Lord Lyttelton will preside over the general Congress. The Presidents of Sections will be: History, the Hon. Lord Neaves; Antiquities, Edwin Guest, LL.D., D.C.L., Master of Caius College, Cambridge; and, Architecture, Sir Stephen R. Glynne, Bart. Besides the usual sittings there will be excursions to Evesham, Broadway and Campden, to Great Malvern, the Herefordshire Beacon and other ancient vestiges on the Malvern Hills, and also to Tewkesbury, including a visit to Bredon and Deerhurst churches.

Lord Palmerston deserves every credit for the manner in which he has distributed the Civil List Pensions for the past year. If we may judge from his practice, we may suppose that the noble Lord has broken from that dreary Aberdeen principle of treating the fund as a pauper dole. This year the pensions have been almost wholly given less on account of poverty than of service. In most of the cases, poverty is not even alleged. The list may be thus divided. Literature:—Mr. Charles Mackay, 100*l.*, in consideration of his contributions to poetry and to general literature,—Miss Emma Robinson, 75*l.*, in consideration of her many romances, historical plays, and other contributions to periodical literature, of admitted excellence,—Mr.

Leitch Ritchie, 100*l.*, in acknowledgment of his labours to enrich the literature of his country, and to elevate the intellectual condition of the poor,—Mr. Thomas Roscoe, 50*l.*, in consideration of his literary labours,—Mr. John Seymour, 100*l.*, in consideration of his contributions to literature, and of educational labours among the natives of India, in spite of his being blind from within two years of his birth,—Mr. Isaac Taylor, 100*l.*, in public acknowledgment of his eminent services to literature, especially in the departments of history and philosophy, during a period of more than forty years,—Mr. John Wade, 50*l.*, in consideration of his contributions to political literature, more especially during the time of the Reform Bill of 1832. Science:—Miss Elizabeth Baly and Miss Marie Josephine Fauvet (a joint pension), 100*l.*, in consideration of the late Dr. Baly’s long career in the public service, and of the merit of the scientific medical works of which he was the author,—Mr. Richard Cort, 50*l.* (in addition to his former pension of 50*l.*), on account of the great value and utility of his father’s discoveries in the working of iron, and of his failure to derive any pecuniary benefit therefrom,—Dr. John Hart, Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland, 75*l.*, in consideration of his contributions to the science of anatomy and physiology, and of his being afflicted with blindness and broken health,—Mr. George Rainey, 100*l.*, in consideration of his labours in the field of minute anatomy and physiology, and of the many works on the subject which he has given to the public in the Transactions of learned Societies without receiving any pecuniary remuneration,—Mrs. Janet Wilson and Miss Jessie Wilson, 100*l.* (a joint pension), in consideration of the eminent services of the late Prof. George Wilson, of Edinburgh, as a public teacher and a scientific man. Art:—Mrs. Mary Cross, 100*l.*, in consideration of her late husband’s merits as a painter, and of her straitened circumstances. Public Service:—Mrs. Jane Bonblaque, 100*l.*, on account of her husband having been forty-four years in the Consular service, and of his death having been caused by an attack made upon him while at his post at Belgrade, by a Turkish soldier, when his family was left entirely unprovided for.

A friend in Wales asks us to add the name of the Welsh St. Swithun,—viz. “Cewyd y gwlaw,” i.e. Cewydd of the rain, to the list of Swithuns given in our last number. Those of our readers who may wish to trace the history of this rainy saint will be glad to have the following clues to inquiry:—For an account of his festival, held on the 1st of July, see “Iolo MSS.” pp. 152, 558; for the names of churches dedicated to him, see Rees’s ‘Welsh Saints,’ pp. 230, 338; for an account of his “forty-days” rain power, or pour, see “Lewis Glyn Cothe’s” Works, vol. i. p. 5. vv. 10, 11.

The misunderstanding between Mr. Boucicault and Mr. Webster, we regret to find, still continues. The former supplied the Adelphi with the manuscript and music of ‘The Colleen Bawn,’ when Mr. Webster had announced it for performance at the Adelphi on the same evening with its representation at Drury Lane; but the latter refuses admission, either to Mr. or Mrs. Boucicault, to the Adelphi Theatre, notwithstanding the continuance of the partnership. The Vice-Chancellor, it is stated, will be again appealed to; Mr. Boucicault having amended his bill, which is now in court.

The good work of widening the Brompton Road approach to the International Exhibition, repeatedly urged by us before the opening, progresses rapidly. Some two months ago the worst portion of the difficulty was overcome by taking into the road a long strip of scrubby ground between Langley Place and Brompton Square, at the western end of which a slice was deftly taken off the front of a chemist’s shop. Not much remains to be desired in this quarter. At the east end of the road, nearer Knightsbridge, was erst a strange collection of baths of every kind and size, of fruit and book stalls, and other impedimenta proper enough to the primitive suburban state of the locality, lying, indeed, upon the space at one time

occupied by the fore-courts of the houses before it was thought of making shops in them. This space was mere waste, although lying between a crowded foot and carriage way, and narrowing both sadly. Within the last few days the debateable ground in question has been taken possession of by labourers, and will soon be thrown into the restricted road, so that beyond an uncomfortable narrowness of the pavement on the west side, which when the Exhibition is closed may be widened, this great public improvement will be complete in both sections. To connect these partial improvements is now important, and to be done by slicing off, as before, from the fronts of some few shops nearest the south corner of New Street. This, which is to be ultimately effected, will be a satisfactory termination of the affair.

A Correspondent writes, on the subject of Shirley's Lines, quoted by Mr. Gladstone and ourselves:—"Some quotations seem to insist on being misquoted. Mr. Gladstone's use of Shirley's couplets at Liverpool the other day roused a newspaper skirmish, which failed after all to put the matter right. Even the *Athenæum* has stumbled—to the extent of a monosyllable—in quoting the same lines in the article on 'St. Swithin.' The lines occur in 'The Contention of Ajax and Ulysses,' scene 3rd. Calchas, before the body of Ajax, speaks as follows—I copy from Dyce's edition of Shirley's Works, published by Murray, 1833, vol. vi. p. 396:—

The glories of our blood and state
Are shadows, not substantial things;
There is no armour against fate;
Death lays his icy hand on kings :
Sceptre and crown
Must tumble down,
And in the dust be equal made
With the poor crooked scythe and spade.

Some men with swords may reap the field,
And plant fresh laurels where they kill;
But their strong nerves at last must yield;
They tame but one another still :
Early or late,
They stoop to fate,
And must give up their murmuring breath,
When they, pale captives, creep to death.

The garlands wither on your brow,
Then boast no more your mighty deeds ;
Upon Death's purple altar now,
See where the victor-victim bleeds ;
Your heads must come
To the cold tomb ;
Only the actions of the just
Smell sweet, and blossom in their dust.

The words appear to have been set to music, separately. Were they altered for that purpose? and have recent quotations been from the song?

"A. J. M."

Mr. Buckstone, of the Picture Gallery in Berners Street, writes to say, in reply to Mr. Whistler's letter, that Mr. Whistler was well aware of his picture being advertised as 'The Woman in White,' and was pleased with the name. "There was no intention," Mr. Buckstone adds, "to mislead the public by the supposition that it referred to the heroine of Mr. Wilkie Collins's novel; but being the figure of a female attired in white, with a white background, with which no-colour the artist has produced some original effects, the picture was called 'The Woman in White,' simply because it could not be called 'The Woman in Black,' or any other colour."

A curious leaden cylinder was found not long ago by some workmen digging foundations at Chester: it contained human bones, burnt; was about 18 inches high and 7½ diameter; it was half an inch thick at the bottom; the sides were welded together, without solder, and the top closed by forcing in the sides. It is supposed to be of Roman origin.

The modest house at Brussels in which Joachim Leleweil spent many years of his exile, bears a marble slab to his memory, dedicated to him by the Polish colony at Brussels.

The Due de Pasquier is said to have left memoirs which are continued to the last events of the day, and which embrace forty volumes. This stupendous work is to be published at the expense of the author, who, it is said, has taken care that several copies of the memoirs are abroad and in security.

The annual meeting of the French Academy for the distribution of prizes took place on the 3rd instant. Almost all the first awards were carried off this year by the fair sex. Madeleine Laugier, of Orgon (mouth of the Rhone), received a Montyon award of virtue, consisting of 3,000 francs; Hortense de Gelsinsky, of Digne (Lower Alps), 2,000 francs: besides these, four medals at 1,000 francs each, and sixteen medals at 500 francs each, and a gold medal, with "mention honorable," were distributed. Madame de Porquet carried off the prize for eloquence by her Essay on the French novel. M. Camille Rousset received a Gobert prize, for his History of Louvois, and M. Jules Caillet, for his History of France under Richelieu. Eight other works, considered as particularly beneficial to morality, were awarded. M. Montalembert delivered the usual Address, which was received with applause. M. Montalembert observed that during the last forty years the number of women and maidens awarded with prizes of virtue has been always steadily increasing in proportion to the number of men. "Our wreaths," he said, "do not crown the brows of young *rosières*; we have only to do with old women, and mostly with old maids. These poor noble maidens, so strong in their weakness and in their solitude, have become the purest, the most indisputable of our national virtues."

Prof. Löher, of Munich, who was sent by the King to make researches in the Archives of the Netherlands, is highly satisfied with the result of his examinations. Prof. Löher, with the assistance of Prof. Cornelius and Von Sybel, had undertaken the task of editing the correspondence of the Württemberg Princes from 1550: a task assigned to them by the Historical Commission, at their last meeting. For this work in particular, Prof. Löher was fortunate in finding abundant material in the Archives of Brussels. He found the complete correspondence between the Duke Albrecht the Generous and Philip the Second, Alba, Don John of Austria and other Spanish Governors. These manuscripts are so important and so numerous that they will employ the assistant of Prof. Löher, Herr Kirchner, all the summer in copying.

A ten days' sale has disposed of the late Rev. Dr. Hawtrey's Library. The following may be cited:—Ashmole's Laws and Ceremonies of the Garter, on large paper, 10l.,—Bourdaloue, Sermons bound by Derome, 10l. 15s.,—Burnet's History of his own Time, on large paper, with illustrations, 30l. 10s.,—Biblia Polyglotta, Waltoni, 17l. 10s.,—Biblia Sacra, Aldus, 1518, 9l. 2s. 6d.,—Volume of Chinese Drawings, representing domestic occupations and enjoyments, 13l.,—Cuvier's Animal Kingdom, 16 vols., 18l. 15s.,—Cervantes' Don Quixote, the Madrid edition, 4 vols., with some extra illustrations, 11l. 5s.,—Du Cange, Glossarium, 9l. 15s.,—Dresden Gallery, published in 1836, 22l. 10s.,—Galerie du Musée Napoléon, 11l.,—Eton College Lists for ten years, from 1833 to 1852, 6l.,—Fénélon, Œuvres Spirituelles, &c., large paper, printed at the expense of the Marquise de Fénélon, 17l. 10s.,—Fox's Book of Martyrs, 1596, the binding ornamented with silver, 25l.,—Jefferson's Notes on the State of Virginia, 1782, 5l. 10s.,—Katecismo Indico du Lingua Karibis, Lisboa, 1709, 3l. 15s.,—Macgillivray's Natural History of Dee Side and Braemar, printed at the expense of the late Prince Albert, 4l.,—Litta, Famiglie di Celebri Italiani, 31l.,—Nicole, Essais de Morale, 25 vols., 7l. 7s.,—Mariana, Historia General de España, 9 vols., 13l. 15s.,—Ovid, Metamorphoses, Paris, 1806-22, proof impressions of the illustrations, 24l. 10s.,—Works of the Philobiblon Society, 9 vols., 8l. 8s.,—Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds, 3 vols., proofs, 45l. 10s.,—Halliwell's magnificent edition of Shakespeare, 10 vols., 52l.,—Roberts's Holy Land and Nubia, a coloured copy, 50l.,—Roxburghe Club publications, 57l. 15s.,—Hispania Artística y Monumental, 8l. 8s.,—Ward's History of the Rebellion, 1713, 5l. 12s. 6d.,—Wellesley's Primitiae et Reliquiae, privately printed, 3l. 3s.,—Wilson's Catalogue of Bibles, &c., 6l. 12s. 6d.,—Turner's England and Wales, complete in parts, 29l. 10s.,—Nine Autograph Letters of King William the Third of England 8l.,—Total, 2,839l. 7s. 6d.

Will Close on Saturday, the 29th instant.
ROYAL ACADEMY OF ARTS.—The EXHIBITION is NOW OPEN. In the DAY, from Eight A.M. to Seven P.M. Admission, 1s.; Catalogue, 1s.;—In the EVENING, from Half-past Seven till Half-past Ten. Admission, 6d.; Catalogue, 6d.
JOHN PRESCOTT KNIGHT, R.A., Secy.

SOCIETY OF PAINTERS IN WATER COLOURS.—The FIFTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL EXHIBITION is NOW OPEN, at their GALLERY, 5, Pall Mall East (close to the National Gallery), from Nine till Seven.—Admission, 1s.; Catalogue, 6d.; Season Ticket, 5s.

THE NEW SOCIETY OF PAINTERS IN WATER COLOURS.—THE TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL EXHIBITION of this SOCIETY is NOW OPEN, at their GALLERY, 53, Pall Mall (near St. James's Palace), from Nine till dusk.—Admission, 1s.; Catalogue, 6d.; Season Ticket, 5s.

JAMES FAHEY, Secretary.

BRITISH INSTITUTION, Pall Mall.—THE GALLERY, with a Collection of PICTURES by ANCIENT MASTERS and deceased BRITISH ARTISTS, is OPEN DAILY, from Ten to Six.—Admission, 1s.; Catalogue, 6d.

GEORGE NICOL, Secretary.

FRENCH GALLERY, 120, Pall Mall.—THE NINTH ANNUAL EXHIBITION of PICTURES, the contributions of Artists of the French and Flemish Schools, is NOW OPEN.—Admission, 1s.; which will also admit to view Frith's celebrated Picture of the Derby Day; Catalogues, 6d.

MONA SURVILLE, Secy.

THE DERBY DAY, by W. P. FRITH, R.A., is NOW ON VIEW at the UPPER GALLERY, 120, Pall Mall.—Admission, 1s., which will also admit to the French Exhibition.

HOLYMAN HUNTER'S great Picture, THE FINDING OF THE SON OF LEVI in THE TEMPLE, commenced in Jerusalem in 1854, is NOW ON VIEW at the GERMAN GALLERY, 169, New Bond Street.—Admission, 1s.

GERMAN GALLERY, 169, New Bond Street.—THE ROYAL FAMILY of FRANCE, Louis XVI, and Marie-Antoinette, in the PISOU of the TEMPLE, 1792, painted by E. M. WARD, R.A., is now ON VIEW. Admission free, on presentation of a private address-card.

FRITH'S celebrated Picture of THE RAILWAY STATION, now ON VIEW, daily, from Eleven to Six o'clock, at the Fine Art Gallery, 7, Haymarket, next door to the Haymarket Theatre.—Admission, One Shilling.

MR. JOHN LEECH'S GALLERY of SKETCHES in OIL, from Subjects in 'Punch,' is open every day from Ten till Dusk, at the EGYPTIAN HALL, Piccadilly.—Admission, One Shilling.

NOTICE.—THE GALLERY, 14, Berners Street, Oxford Street, OPEN DAILY, from Ten till Five, with nearly 200 First-Class Pictures for Exhibition and sale by Smith, Hall, Rosa, Millais, R.A., T. S. Cooper, R.A., Creswick, R., Nasmyth, and the leading Artists of the day, including Whistler's extraordinary Picture of 'The Woman in White'.—Admission, 1s.; Catalogue, 6d.

FREDERICK BUCKSTONE, Secretary.

ROSA BONHEUR'S celebrated PICTURES, 'The Horse Fair,' 'Landau Peasants going to Market,' 'The Spanish Muleteer,' 'The Highland Shepherd,' 'Shetland Ponies,' and 'Skye Terrier,' ON VIEW TO-DAY, at the Gallery, 5, Waterloo Place, Pall Mall.—Admission, 1s.

SCIENCE

UNIFORMITY OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

THE Select Committee on Weights and Measures, presided over by Mr. William Ewart,—and on which Mr. Cobden has been an active member,—reported this week to the House of Commons, the results of a somewhat laborious investigation. The Committee was appointed to inquire into the practicability of establishing a uniform system of weights and measures with a view to facilitate our domestic and foreign trade. They very wisely availed themselves of the presence at the Great Exhibition of eminent visitors who had specially studied the question, and who in many cases had assisted in the reform of weights and measures in their own countries. In addition to these foreign witnesses, they examined men of science, merchants, manufacturers and working men from various parts of the United Kingdom. That the time had come for a full and searching inquiry of this kind, no one who knows anything of the subject will be inclined to deny.

Repeated attempts to attain uniformity in weights and measures have been made in this country, from the period of Magna Charta to the present time. The power of usage has, however, baffled the attempts of legislation; and we are still almost as far removed as ever from uniformity. We have still no less than ten different systems of weights and measures:—Decimal grains, used for scientific purposes; troy weight, under 5 Geo. 4, c. 74; troy ounce, with decimal multiples and divisions, called bullion weights; bankers' weights; apothecaries' weight; diamond weights and pearl weights, including carats; avoirdupois weight, under 5 Geo. 4, c. 78; weights for hay and straw; wool weight, using as factors, 2, 3, 7, and 13; coal weights.

We have also, in occasional scientific use, the weights of the metrical system. For measures of length we have the ordinary inch, foot and yard.

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We have in cloth measure, inches, quarters and ells. For nautical purposes, we have fathoms, knots, leagues, and geographical miles, at variance with the ordinary mile; and we have also the Scotch and Irish mile. We have, in almost every trade, names especially used for those trades: in the measurement of horses, we have the hand; the shoemakers use sizes; and we are compelled to adopt gauges where the French use the millimetre. These gauges are entirely arbitrary. The custom of the trade is the only thing which would decide the question, in case of dispute. We have twenty different bushels, and about ten different stones: a stone of wool at Darlington is 18 lb.; a stone of flax at Downpatrick is 24 lb.; a stone of flax at Belfast is only 16½ lb.; but it is also at Belfast 24½ lb., having in one place two values. We can hardly tell what the hogheads means: of ale it is 54 gallons, of wine it is 63 gallons: pipes of wine vary in many ways; each sort of wine seems to claim the privilege of a different sort of pipe. There are in England four ells. A fathom of a man-of-war is 6 feet, of a merchantman 5½ feet, of a fishing-smack 5 feet. The hundredweight may mean 100 lb., 112 lb., or 120 lb. If you buy an ounce of anything, you must inquire if it belongs to the Dutch, troy, or avoirdupois weights and measures.

The Great Exhibition of 1851 drew public attention to this anomalous system. The jurors experienced the greatest embarrassment from the various weights and measures used by the exhibitors from different parts of the United Kingdom and from foreign countries. They could scarcely arrive at any common standard. This induced the Society of Arts to petition the Treasury in favour of a uniform system. The same object was promoted by the Statistical Congress held at Brussels in 1853. Again, when the Paris Exhibition of 1855 took place, the jurors found themselves obstructed by similar difficulties. The members of the international jury, on that occasion, issued a memorable declaration, in which they recommended the adoption of a universal system of weights and measures. At the London Congress of the International Statistical Society, the Prince Consort, in his opening address, used these words: "The different weights, measures, and currencies, in which different statistics are expressed, cause further difficulties and impediments; suggestions with regard to the removal of these have been made at former meetings, and will, no doubt, be renewed." All these occurrences led to repeated discussions at the Society of Arts and the Statistical Society, respecting the best system of weights and measures, and they resulted in a unanimous resolution that the preponderance of reason and experience was in favour of the metrical system.

The countries in which the metrical system has been, or is being introduced, are — France, Holland, Belgium, Sardinia, Tuscany, Spain, Portugal, and Switzerland. In addition to these, Germany has accepted the mètre instead of the foot, as its basis of length, and Russia is showing undoubted tendencies in the same direction. The foreign witnesses concur in stating that no nation which has adopted the metrical system wishes to recur to any other, or has failed to derive the greatest benefit from such adoption. It appears, indeed, that the metrical system is gradually and silently advancing even in England. The decimal system has, in many instances, prevailed here; our engineers have for some time made use of decimals, and our insurance companies have long employed them. In fact, one company was mentioned in which the ledger has been kept on the *pound* and *mille* system for a hundred years. The Registrar-General makes use of the metrical system, and it is about to be introduced into the Statistical department of the Board of Trade. The pupils of the London University make their calculations by the *gramme*. Prof. Miller, of Cambridge, is asked, "How long has the decimal-metrical system been introduced in scientific operations?" He answers, "As long as I can remember. I should think that, since the year 1836, no chemist ever made use of weights which were not decimally divided." Mr. Graham, Master of the Mint, states that "the divisions of the metrical system form a sort of common language for scientific men; and where it is not used

in English scientific papers, those papers remain unnoticed in France."

In machine-making the metrical system has been successfully tried in England. Mr. Whitworth and other well-known manufacturers have adopted it. Mr. Fairbairn, the engineer, in his evidence, said, "When the decimal system has once been used in a machine-making establishment I never knew an instance of its being given up. It will ultimately get into all mechanical operations." The necessity for the application of decimals to minute admeasurement was shown by another witness in the construction of the Armstrong guns. "The millimetre," says Mr. Siemens, "is used extensively in France, and is an exceedingly convenient measure as a unit in mechanical construction. It induces greater precision in measurement." Mr. Crosley applies the same observation to the construction of locomotive engines and to the railway gauge. With respect to measurement by the inch, it is stated to be "very difficult to say what a real inch is." The decimal system is becoming more and more purely mechanical; it is even capable of being worked by a machine. But this machine cannot be used in combination with the English system.

A saving of labour would also be effected by the use of the metrical system in our mercantile establishments. Several witnesses stated, that under the metrical system they can conduct their establishments with fewer clerks than they could under the English system; and M. Lorsant, a merchant and manufacturer in Belgium, Lorraine and England, remarked that "an English office is made up of ready-reckoners and *vade-mecum*, things utterly unknown abroad."

The saving of time in education was also referred to by many witnesses. While English weights and measures are laborious and repulsive to both teacher and pupil, any one can easily master the metrical system. "Its adoption," says Dr. Farr (Superintendent of the Statistical Department of the General Register Office), "would get rid of all compound rules of arithmetic." The time which the use of the metrical system would save in education has been generally stated to be at least a year. A certificated master of the British School at Highgate described to the Committee the readiness and interest with which children have acquired it. "The waste of time," says a clergyman extensively engaged in education, "to junior pupils in learning the tables of weights and measures is immense. He describes the work of education in the French military academies as "much higher and more forward than ours," and traces the cause to the "time of juvenile pupils being lost in their wanderings through the mazes of our arithmetical system." Prof. De Morgan thinks that "the whole time of arithmetical education, by adopting the decimal system, might be reduced by one-half, or probably more."

There is abundant testimony to the ease with which working-men acquire the metrical system. A Scotch manufacturer, who has also works in France, says:—"In the works I carry on at Dunkirk I employ about 1,000 persons. I have had frequently a great many overseers from Scotland; they come not knowing the French language, far less the weights and measures, or the money, but they very soon get acquainted with the metrical system." An English workman who has been in the employment of Mr. Brassey for twenty-five years, and has been engaged on railways in France, Belgium and Savoy, states, that he very soon understood the mètre, and found it much easier to comprehend than the English system. "The English workman," he says, "got the weights very quickly." He is asked, "How long do you think it would take them?" and he answered, "A fortnight, or a month at furthest. All the workmen I ever had anything to do with prefer the French method to the English."

The Committee considered the expediency of creating a department which, under Governmental responsibility and Parliamentary control, should have the care of weights and measures. "In France," says M. Chevalier, "there is a department which superintends the proper observance of weights and measures; it is under

the Minister of Commerce. The officers of this department are called *Vérificateurs*. The *Vérificateur* makes his visits annually." Similar departments exist in other countries which have adopted the metrical system. Our Government takes the most praiseworthy care to rectify our coin, but not what our coin purchases. But a want of precision in the measure of commodities is exactly equivalent to a want of precision in the measure of gold. Who would permit the power of coining to a court leet? Yet to a court leet, says the Astronomer Royal, we consign the standard of our weights and measures. "On such a subject, no uncertainty," says Lord Monteagle, "is excusable, or even durable. In every nation, especially in the greatest commercial nation, the highest point of accuracy should be secured."

The Committee arrived at an almost unanimous conclusion, that the best course to adopt is gradually to introduce the metrical system. They think the first step should be simply to render it permissible in this country. No compulsory measures should be resorted to until they are sanctioned by the general conviction of the public. They also express an opinion that a decimal system of money should be, as nearly as possible, concomitant with a decimal system of weights and measures.

They recommend that a department of Weights and Measures should be established under the Board of Trade, and that to this department should be confided the gradual introduction of the metrical system. The Government should require its employment in their contracts, in the accounts of the Customs and Excise duties; thus familiarizing it among our merchants and manufacturers. It should form a part of the competitive examinations for the Civil Service. The *gramme* might be used as a weight for foreign letters and books at the Post Office. The Committee of Council on Education should be authorized to furnish schools with the means of giving instruction in the metrical system, and of teaching decimals earlier and more completely. In the public statistics of the country, quantities might be expressed in the terms of the metrical system in juxtaposition with those of our own. In any new Acts of Parliament relating to weights and measures, the changes introduced should be confined to, or connected with, the metrical system. The only weights and measures in use ought to be the Metrical and Imperial. An annual report should be made to Parliament by the Department on the results of their inspection, and on the progress of the new system; and inspection ought to be periodical, punctual and frequent.

MEETING FOR THE ENSUING WEEK. TUES. Horticultural, Fruit and Floral Committee.

FINE ARTS

Thebes: its Tombs and their Tenants. By A. H. Rhind. (Longman & Co.)

The most important of Mr. Rhind's contributions to our knowledge of this ever-interesting subject is an account of the discovery of the tomb of a Theban dignitary, and of its contents. This was intact, and of a period not hitherto found so; and although its original possessors had been ejected to make room for later dead, the sepulchral arrangements of both offered points of interest. The ultimate value of Mr. Rhind's success cannot be estimated before the publication of Mr. Birch's remarks upon and his translations of the papyrus inscriptions which accompanied the interment. The last-named gentleman states his high opinion of their value in affirming them to offer additional keys for the decipherment of demotic literature. The general and philological bearings of these papyri are to be illustrated by Mr. Birch in an introduction to fac-similes now in preparation. The articles themselves, including several unique objects, are now in the Royal Museum at Edinburgh.

The articles of interest found in one tomb were fourteen labels of wood, each pierced with

a hole for attaching it to a mummy, some having the needful cord remaining. Such articles were appended to the bodies when transported from place to place, and doubtless prevented a misdelivery at the ultimate tomb. They bore the names of princesses of the family of Thothmes III., and seemed to indicate that the deceased persons to whom they were attached had been under the special guardianship of the royal ladies who lived about 1,400 years B.C. The explorer reached the companion tomb to the above with a better result. This had been unrifled since its last Egyptian re-employment in the 9th year B.C., the 21st year of Augustus, and contained the valuables referred to. Of these the most important was the actual canopy that had been used to cover the sarcophagus of the deceased on its way to the tomb: this was formed of wood, painted with brilliant colours, and suggests the general form of a temple with its *naos* or portico, with the ordinary divided entrance between the central columns; it is roofed, and apparently represents the exterior of an Egyptian temple at the time of its construction, even to the detail paintings on the front. The arrangement, form and construction of the roof of this remarkable relic may offer some glimpse of light to those students who are at issue on the question of the Greek system of roofing the Parthenon and other temples.

In the lowest chamber were found several mummies, the most remarkable that of Sebau, inclosed in a granite sarcophagus. Upon the body was placed an article of great interest—a golden chaplet, framed on a ring of copper thickly gilt, of eleven bay-leaves of thin gold. Such articles have been found in Greek, Etruscan and Egyptian tombs: that in question presented some differences which are interesting. The name, titles and descent of the deceased were found, as usual, on a large ritual papyrus placed beside his body. The straightforward manner in which the original occupants of this large sepulchre had been expelled to make room for Sebau and his wife, with their dependents, was strikingly manifest in the disposition of early fragments of mummy-cases, some of which had been employed to facilitate the placing of the massive sarcophagus itself. Probably the sarcophagus was borrowed, as well as the tomb; and it seems there could be little doubt that the spoliators in question had not been the first to take possession, although they were unquestionably the latest occupants, of a grave perhaps as old to them as they are now to us.

Mr. Rhind sought knowledge in other than the tombs of the Egyptian great, and examined the interment-places of the poor. As a result of this, he gives some remarks on customs of the people, as such, which will repay perusal. His chapters on the evidence respecting the employment of iron objects amongst the early dwellers by the Nile are carefully considered and fairly reasoned out. He finds an opinion that for all practical purposes the ore need not have been smelted amongst them, upon the absence of the metal in tombs where it was not liable to decomposition,—as, for instance, in that just referred to, where the canopy, late in date as it was, had been held together for nineteen hundred years by pins of iron that are still perfect. Lasting so long, the metal, if employed, might be expected to remain through a far longer period under similar circumstances. The fact of every metallic article known by us to have been used by the ancient people having been found in bronze would show that its use was prior to that of iron amongst them.

FINE-ART GOSPI.—In the International Exhibition picture galleries, English side, the portrait by

Reynolds of Miss Gwatkin, styled ‘Simplicity’ (39), a seated child in white with auburn hair, has been removed to a higher position, some doubts being entertained of its originality. In the place so vacated, a picture, by Gainsborough, of George Canning when a boy, has been placed. We notice with satisfaction that labels bearing the names of the painters and the subjects of each picture have been placed upon every example contained in this side of the galleries. This is an excellent arrangement, which might be extended to the whole of the foreign side, where indeed, in Denmark, it originated; at present France lags behind in the matter. Surely it is time a new edition of the Catalogue appeared. That still sold is full of blunders, excusable enough in consideration of the hurry of its primary issue, but not to be endured a day longer than can be helped.

Visitors to Mr. J. Leech’s exhibition of paintings will learn with satisfaction that Messrs. Agnew, having purchased the whole of the collection that remained unsold, are about to publish some twenty of them in colour-printing. These comprise especially the hunting scenes, and are to be entitled “Fair England.”

The series of illustrations to the Parables, made by Mr. Millais, and engraved by Messrs. Dalziel, which have attracted so much attention as specimens, not alone of Art, but of the intelligent system of cutting on wood, whereby the artist’s actual work is rendered, are, we are informed, about to be published, in the first case, so far as the series is complete, in a popular form. When the whole thirty are produced by the artist, we trust they may be issued as originally proposed.

The thirteenth Report of the Arundel Society shows its gross receipts to be—for 1860, 2,719*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*; those of 1861, 2,913*l.* 6*s.* 10*d.* After discharging all expenses of 1861, a balance of 663*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.* remained for the current year. The number of members has risen from 1,200 at this period of last year to more than 1,500 now. The “occasional publications”—i.e. those beside the regular issue to subscribing members—have met with a larger sale this year than in the last. The Report states that in compliance with a desire from many original members of the Society that recourse should be had to line engraving as a mode of representation, the Council have engaged Herr Schaffer to engrave another of the series of frescoes by Fra Angelico in the Vatican. ‘The Distribution of Alms by St. Stephen’ will therefore form part of the series for 1862, together with the following chromo-lithographs, in continuation of the series from the Brancacci Chapel:—1. The Raising of Petronilla, by Masolino; 2. A head from the same, original size; 3 and 4. St. Peter delivered from Prison, and St. Peter visited by St. Paul, by Filippino Lippi; 5. A head from the last, original size. Mr. T. Longman has lent two careful drawings by Consoni, of Rome, from the Raphael tapestries in the Vatican, of which the original cartoons are wanting at Hampton Court, and are believed to be lost. They are ‘The Conversion of Saul’ and ‘Stoning of St. Stephen.’ These have been entrusted to Mr. Gruner to engrave.

The restoration of the Church of Holy Island, Durham, one of the oldest in the kingdom, has revealed some peculiarities which are worth noting. The arches of the north and south arcades are different in span, form and character; the pillars on the south are octagonal, those on the north round. Some of the arches were built of alternate courses of red and white stone.

MUSIC AND THE DRAMA

SACRED HARMONIC SOCIETY. Exeter Hall.—Conductor, MR. COSTA.—Mendelssohn’s ‘ELIJAH’ will be performed on WEDNESDAY EVENING NEXT, July 21, at Exeter Hall, when (in addition to a highly attractive programme) will be performed a new Cantata, composed expressly for this occasion by M. W. Balfe. The following Artists will appear: Madame Lemmens-Sherrington, Miss Palmer, Mr. Santley, Mr. Charles Halle, Mr. Piatti and Mr. Sims Reeves. Full Band and

Chorus. Conductor, MR. M. W. BALFE.—Stalls, 10*s.* 6*d.*; Reserved Boxes, 2*s.*; West Boxes or Gallery, 2*s.* 6*d.* Tickets at Cremorne Galleries & Wood’s, 2*s.* Rossetti-street; Chappell & Co.’s, 3*s.* New Bond-street; and at the Office of the Sacred Harmonic Society, Exeter Hall.

ROYAL ACADEMY OF MUSIC.—The question opened a couple of years ago, under sanction of the Society of Arts, of the propriety of applying to Government for a grant in support of musical education, has never since been closed; though its progress towards solution has been, apparently, small. The discussion (it will be recollect) concerning the efficiency or deficiency of our Royal Academy as a school was followed by the appointment of a Committee to report on the subject, with a view of deciding how far it might be advisable or possible to build on the old foundation,—how far to allow the structure as it stands to crumble into dust, and then to construct a wider, more comprehensive edifice *de novo*. It was fancied that some compromise might be entered into betwixt the reformers and the ancient party who had so long governed, after a fashion, the institution; and that the latter might be induced to acquiesce in (if not to originate) those root-and-branch measures of purification and cure, without which any continuance of life would amount only to so much continuance of morbid, not healthy, action. To ourselves, the hope of any such solution always appeared chimerical; but more sanguine persons made the attempt, without any result. Subsequently, to meet the acknowledged imperfections of the Royal Academy as it stood and stands, a Professor (if we mistake not, a student there in former years) announced the establishment of a cheaper and more efficient music school. What success has attended Dr. Wylde’s essay, we are unable to state—but it must be recorded, as a sign of the movement. From a Memorial obligingly forwarded to us, we now learn that the Royal Academy makes a confession of its decadence and present unsatisfactory condition, by memorializing Government, in an appeal signed by upwards of one hundred musicians. From the list of signatures it may be inferred that this movement is in great measure limited to those who have an interest in keeping up matters as they are. The Memorial refers to past struggles, but gives no hope of future reforms, and advances no claim for belief that the Academy, on its present basis of discipline, is of any importance, whether as a dear or a cheap school. The memorialists confess that pupils have been few and payments increasing, but offer no explanation for the mediocrity (to be gentle) of the results which have attended the teachings of the past five-and-twenty years as compared with those of foreign Academies. So far from this, “Your memorialists,” says the paper, “confidently refer, for confirmation of this statement, to the general opinion of the country in respect of composers, solo performers, orchestral performers and vocalists.” In reply to such assumed commendation, we challenge the memorialists to name one single composer who has produced works having any currency,—one single solo performer of first-rate position, on any instrument,—one single vocalist capable of sustaining a leading part in oratorio or opera, home or foreign, whose education has been made in our Academy of Music since the year 1834! The list which can be drawn out, at a moment’s warning, proving that such good first-class artists as we possess have either largely or exclusively studied in foreign schools is overwhelming. Such good as has been done has been done to our orchestras, we concede, but *none*, it may be maintained and proved, to our choruses. On facts like these, gathered during eight-and-twenty years, the *Athenæum* has taken its stand in forming its judgment, that there is something inherently defective in the constitution of the Royal Academy, only remediable by destruction, to be followed by re-construction. Signor Costa said well when he said that “it was of no use to mend an old coat.” We cannot desire that Government should take the affair in hand without a distinct and stringent pledge that the entire system of professorship, discipline and course of instruction, as it stands, should be examined, without fear or favour—not by a jury of Academicians or patrons. Committed (chimerical as the thing would have seemed

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half a century ago) have been appointed by the House to look into such questions as dramatic monopoly, as picture-purchases and picture-cleaning. Is it Utopian to imagine the appointment of one before which competent and scientific testimony could be taken in regard to the state and prospects of musical culture and education in England?

THE PHILHARMONIC JUBILEE CONCERT.—In proportion as the programme of this Concert is examined will its aimlessness and want of significance become apparent. Surely at the Jubilee Concert of a Society founded to bring forward new talent some among the fruits of the labours of its golden time might gracefully and with pertinence have been brought forward. Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Spohr, Clementi—to name but four men who wrote works on commission for the Philharmonic Society, some of which have made the tour of the world. If a retrospective pianist was to be put forward merely on the strength of 'Auld lang syne,' why not have offered some more permanent and valuable authentication of the fact that the Philharmonic Society was once inspired by life, instead of being, as now, an ailing, ancient body, kept alive by tradition and spurious attraction? Why (to illustrate the latter assertion) in Monday's Concert scheme have given such a paltry piece of music as the air from 'Beatrice di Tenda'—no matter though it be a favourite piece of display with Madame Lind-Goldschmidt, whose chromatic cadence in it is a memorable piece of execution? Why not, in place of Weber's 'Euryanthe' overture, have preferred his 'Jubilee' one to close the Concert? We imagined that this selection originated in a natural and becoming deference to Dr. Bennett; since his composition, written for the occasion, was advertised as a 'Jubilee Overture'; whereas the work proved to be a 'Fantasia Overture' on 'Paradise and the Peri.' To the novelty of the evening, and one of no ordinary ambition, we shall come at once.

This is not the place to examine the possibility of representing so long and varied a legend as Moore's within the form and compass of an overture. Suffice it to say, that Dr. Bennett has cut the knot by introducing a series of separate subjects—as many as five,—which are repeated and alternated without any extraordinary attempt at working them up. The first—after a very few bars which agreeably pique the ear—is a *Corale*, typical (it may be presumed) of Eden;—the second is an *agitato* minor subject, repeated thrice in different parts of the work, and in as many different keys; and though the one on which the Overture may be said the most to rely for structure, is, unhappily, trite and conventional. Scores of themes of the kind could be cited from the overtures of Marschner, Lindpainter, Lachner, and other of the German constructors who wrote on slender and faded ideas. The third, devoted to 'He of Gazna,' is martial and marked; the fourth, approached by a scale *cadence* of two octaves, meant to typify the arrow's flight which killed the hero, might be called the second melody of the Overture; and, though elegant, has, like the main theme, been used and used again. The fifth is devoted to the death of the lovers by the pestilence. To these may be added a *coda* of pardon and beatitude, where the forgiven outcast sees 'the crystal bar' unclosed and Heaven won. These dislocated elements are combined and repeated with considerable ingenuity; but they are hardly marked enough in their difference of humour, or else, it may be, Dr. Bennett's instrumentation, here timid and dull, has suffused them in a demi-tint, in which much contrast is softened off and melted down. As the music slid past, some individual portions gave pleasure. As a whole, the impression left on us is a want of brilliancy and boldness—of a pale *Fantasia*, not one shadowing forth what the author of 'Eothen' called 'the splendour and havoc of the East.' Dr. Bennett was rapturously applauded on his entrance, and by his own directors with vociferous ostentation, such as could hardly fail to be felt oppressive by any modest man, however self-appreciating. But his new overture will hardly, we fancy, keep its ground as firmly as those to 'Parisina,' 'The Wood Nymphs' and 'The

Naiades.' Without the poem in hand, it will sound chaotic and unintelligible; with such aid, it is open to the closest criticism.

The rest of the Concert may be described in a few words. Herr Joachim played Spohr's Concerto in D minor as he always plays—Signor Piatti a *solo* composed by himself. Sufficient mention was made of the choral *Fantasia* fortnight ago. Madame Lind-Goldschmidt could not be heard to greater advantage than in Mendelssohn's Psalm, with organ and chorus, 'Hear my prayer,' the last movement of which is one of Mendelssohn's most delicious inspirations. Not so his *finale* to 'Loreley,' let the wholesale idolators say what they please, and in spite of the many admirable portions which it contains. It might have been written expressly for the superb voice of Mdlle. Titien; yet small was the effect produced, owing to the want of 'sacred fire' in the lady. It is the fashion to praise her as dramatic—as such the successor to Madame Grisi; but we cannot fall into the fashion as yet. Mr. Santley sang two songs very well. The orchestra was, as usual, not good; either by itself or in accompaniment. Thus, though the audience at St. James's Hall was crowded, brilliant, and vehemently contented with all that passed, the show of this exceptional Jubilee Concert in no respect represented the substance of the Philharmonic Society; which is at present directed (to judge by its fruits) on altogether erroneous principles.

CONCERTS.—Long as was last week's paragraph regarding Concerts there are still omissions to be filled up. We should have mentioned Mr. Osborne's last *Matinée* as having taken place; also, an evening half-conversation, half-performance (as the fashion is), given by the *Vocal Association*; and the gathering, which so delighted Haydn, of the Cheshire Children.—On Saturday, the students of the Royal Academy of Music gave a concert, at which, among other pieces, was performed Dr. Bennett's 'May Queen.' It is unfortunate that, simultaneously with the circulation of a Memorial pointing to the efficiency of the results of this institution as a plea for Government aid, the Academy could produce no tenor capable of singing the by-no-means arduous part of the *Lover*, for which Mr. Wilby Cooper had to be retained; and that a contemporary, who takes a different view of matters from ours, should be compelled to notice that to the performance of the 'Loreley' *finale* the band was incompetent!

M. Lazare's Concert was given on Tuesday last (not on the date announced by us).

ROYAL ITALIAN OPERA.—For the last performance of 'Guillaume Tell' it was necessary to call in Mdlle. Dottini, a French singer of no value, to sing the part of *Matilda*. This day week 'Don Pasquale' was revived after a seven years' sleep. Not at the time of its birth did the music sound more welcome for its elegance and gaiety than it does in these days; but the merit belongs to Donizetti, and not to the singers now at Covent Garden. Their performance (Signor Mario's excepted), as compared with that of the original artists, reminded us of a pale and diminished water-colour copy of a forcible oil picture. Signor Ciampi is in no respect a substitute for Lablache; it may be feared that his vein of humour is but of *tinfoil* depth,—in this part, at least, it is invisible. Signor Delle Sedie takes pains and attempts many ornamental flourishes, but he is a dry *Malatesta*. The *Norina*, Mdlle. Patti, as an actress, gives new tokens of that malicious drollery which we have fancied indicated by her in former parts; and yet there was something too much of the woe-begone maiden, in the scene where the cruel and amorous old bachelor is to be enticed into the contract by the arch widow. Her singing changes little, and is still most effective in *solo* music; since the want of resonance in the tones of the *working octave* of her voice (between F and F), is a disadvantage in concerted pieces. As *Norina* she is more liberal of scale passages than formerly; but her scales have still to be perfected: they are oftentimes incomplete. Her shake is very good. Her popularity remains undiminished. Owing to this, to the freshness in part given by repose to the last comic opera worth

having, that has reached us from an Italian source, and to Signor Mario's "Come è gentil" (which he still sings with unrivalled lover-like elegance), 'Don Pasquale' may probably draw a few great houses. 'La Figlia' is to be prepared for Mdlle. Patti; and 'Masaniello' for Signor Mario, Mdlle. Battu, and Mdlle. Salvioni, who will undertake the part of *Fenella*.

PRINCESS'S.—The tragedy of 'Henry the Eighth' was revived at this theatre on Thursday week, with those spectacular accessories which rendered it so attractive under Mr. Kean's personal management. The execution of Buckingham, the trial of Queen Katherine, the festivities of Wolsey, with the fall of the favourite, and the death of the ill-starred wife of the bluff King Harry, were all brought before the audience in the most effective manner. The machinery of the descending angels on the couch of the dying Queen is still employed, and, indeed, forms now the concluding tableau of the representation. The scene between this unfortunate lady and the two cardinals, usually omitted, is here retained, and forms one of the most touching situations of the tragedy. Mrs. Kean, we think, makes it the great scene of the drama, and unquestionably acts it with a fineness of tact and with a power of elocution that commands admiration. As this play appears to have been intended by Shakespeare himself for a chronicle-spectacle, the archaeological accompaniments are perfectly in place, and as a stage-commemoration of the events of the Reformation, the performance cannot fail of possessing an occasional significance—one, indeed, that is very applicable to present circumstances. The weighty manner in which the great argument is enforced by the poet shows the importance ascribed by him to it. Here are no trifling scenes, but severe portrayals of historic characters, and solemn interpretations of incidents that were big with the whole future of our national history.—Altogether, too, it is competently performed.

MUSICAL AND DRAMATIC GOSSIP.—The liberal display of military music yesterday week, made when the Exhibition prizes were adjudged, can only be spoken of imperfectly. This is not to be avoided under circumstances. The form and locality of the ceremonial must have precluded any considerations of grand musical effect as predominant; still more of such comparison as would have proved interesting and profitable to persons more closely interested in the matter than spectators of the Festival waiting to be amused by sound as an accessory to the pageant. Not to be irreverent, there was to be heard something of a *Charivari* as well as of chorus—analogous to the effect produced by contesting Highland bagpipers when they stride about with ruffled plumes, each doing his utmost to blow and drone his rival down;—or to the improvised concert of two rival street-bands which (at this moment of writing) are offering to our ears 'The Garibaldi Hymn' and a quick-step by Gungl—of course, in different keys. Oftentimes during the afternoon the ear in many parts of the gardens caught half-a-dozen tunes at once; and—when the competitors were approached separately—differences of locality such as were formed by the fact of cover or no cover to the players, differences of opportunity such as were caused by the respective numbers of the listeners, rendered any appreciation worth having impossible. The grand combination of all the forces in our National Hymn passed off with only a tinge of the effect it ought to have produced, owing to the want of concentration and inclosure. When our Queen first went to Prussia and was welcomed with that memorable serenade at Bruhl, its musical grandeur was enforced by the fact that the players were ranged within a space enclosed by projecting wings. Yesterday week, any similar adjustment was, of course, out of the question. Why not try it some day by assembling our best London military players in the new inclosed orchestra at the Crystal Palace? Meanwhile, due courtesy must be done to the excellent bands of the *Gendarmerie*, of the *Zouaves* from Paris (the playing and players of both of these bodies were received with a heartiness delightful to see and

hear), and to the Belgian orchestra. This last, we hear, has been with many the favourite among the foreign bands; possibly because of its mellow softness, caused, in part, by the rather unusual introduction of double basses. A greater curiosity, and one precious to all lovers of national music, was the performance of the players in the service of the Pasha of Egypt. Anything odder cannot be conceived than a band, modelled in some measure on the European fashion, performing the quaint, reiterated, monotonous tunes of the East; in which the same phrase (almost always based on a close diatonic succession of notes, let the rhythm be ever so marked) is repeated over and over, abundantly afterwards, and yet again. The contrast formed by this mixture of barbarous material and civilized execution with perfected works of Art was strange, picturesque and full of suggestion. We may return to it. This day week the French bands gave an evening concert in St. James's Hall for the benefit of one of the French Charitable Societies in London.

For this week, we must refer to our contemporaries in regard to the *Norma* of Mdlle. Titien, which was presented on Saturday last at Her Majesty's Theatre. They praise this personation without stint or drawback.

Tourists who care for the scenery and the clear hill-air of Baden-Baden, or for its gaieties (as distinct from the so-called delights of its terrible gambling-tables), may like to know that the new theatre just built there is to be opened on the 6th of August, with an opera commissioned from M. Reyer, of Paris. The admirers of M. Berlioz will be glad to read that his new opera, founded on Shakespeare's 'All's well that ends well,' is to follow next in order, later in the month. Mdlle. Orvil, pupil to Madame Viardot, has been singing at Baden with success. There will be more good music, unless a rainy summer (and rain makes the banks of the Oos uncomfortably resemble a reeking sponge) shall flood all the company out of the town to drier and more sunny quarters.

We are glad to give publicity to the following communication:—

"July 7, 1862.

"May I beg the assistance of the *Athenæum* in elucidation of the following point? It was remarked at the late Handel Festival performance that, at a distance from the performers, the brass instruments employed to lead the voices were apparently behindhand. At the Musical Society's performance of the 'Choral Symphony,' in St. James's Hall, the same was noticeable with regard to the trumpets, both in the *chevre* and repeat, from the balcony facing the orchestra, but was not remarked in the body of the hall. I remember remarking the same effect at a meeting of the Charity Schools at St. Paul's, where a trumpet was employed to lead the children in the 'Gloria Patri.' Now, I cannot believe that trumpeters are more slow than others to obey the conductor's baton, and am therefore led to infer that sound emitted from a metal tube travels slower than that produced by stringed instruments or the human voice. I wish to know whether this is an established acoustical fact, and, if so, the wherefore of it. May we not infer that it was a knowledge of this property of brass instruments which has led to the almost conventional mode of employing horns and trumpets by *anticipation*?"—The above inquiries involve questions not merely of individual sonority, but also of space and architectural arrangement. All three are of great delicacy, and we confess ourselves unable to answer them to the satisfaction of our Correspondent—himself, we may say, a thoughtful and accomplished musician. We believe they have been long regarded with doubt and as puzzles by those who have turned their attention expressly to the subject. Perhaps some of these "doctors learned in the law" will assist our friend with the results of observation and comparison,—if results there be.

To CORRESPONDENTS.—J. C. B.—W. W.—R. B.—J. H.—F. B.—E. F.—R. A. S.—J. W.—F. S. B. S.—J. A. M.—H.—received.

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